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-9 JAN 1974

①

Mr Grinstead PUSD

NBR 121 *just don't believe*

c.c. Mr Littlefield PUSD

Mr William *W/C*
Mr Burton MED

Mr Renwick Paris

pa. BZ 8/1
(Wag/Kurd)

ARREST OF TURKISH/PALESTINIAN REVOLUTIONARIES IN
FRANCE

1. Paris reported in their tel. no. 45 Saving of 28 December 1973 that 10 Turks, 2 Palestinians and 1 Algerian had been arrested not far from Paris on 20 December.
2. At the time it was assumed that those arrested were connected with Palestinian terrorism. This assumption was written in to a number of our assessments. However the Quai d'Orsay told us at the Anglo/French talks on the Middle East on 4 January that it had now been established that the plot in Paris was nothing to do with Palestine but was connected with Kurds.

D A Gore-Booth
Near East & North
Africa Department

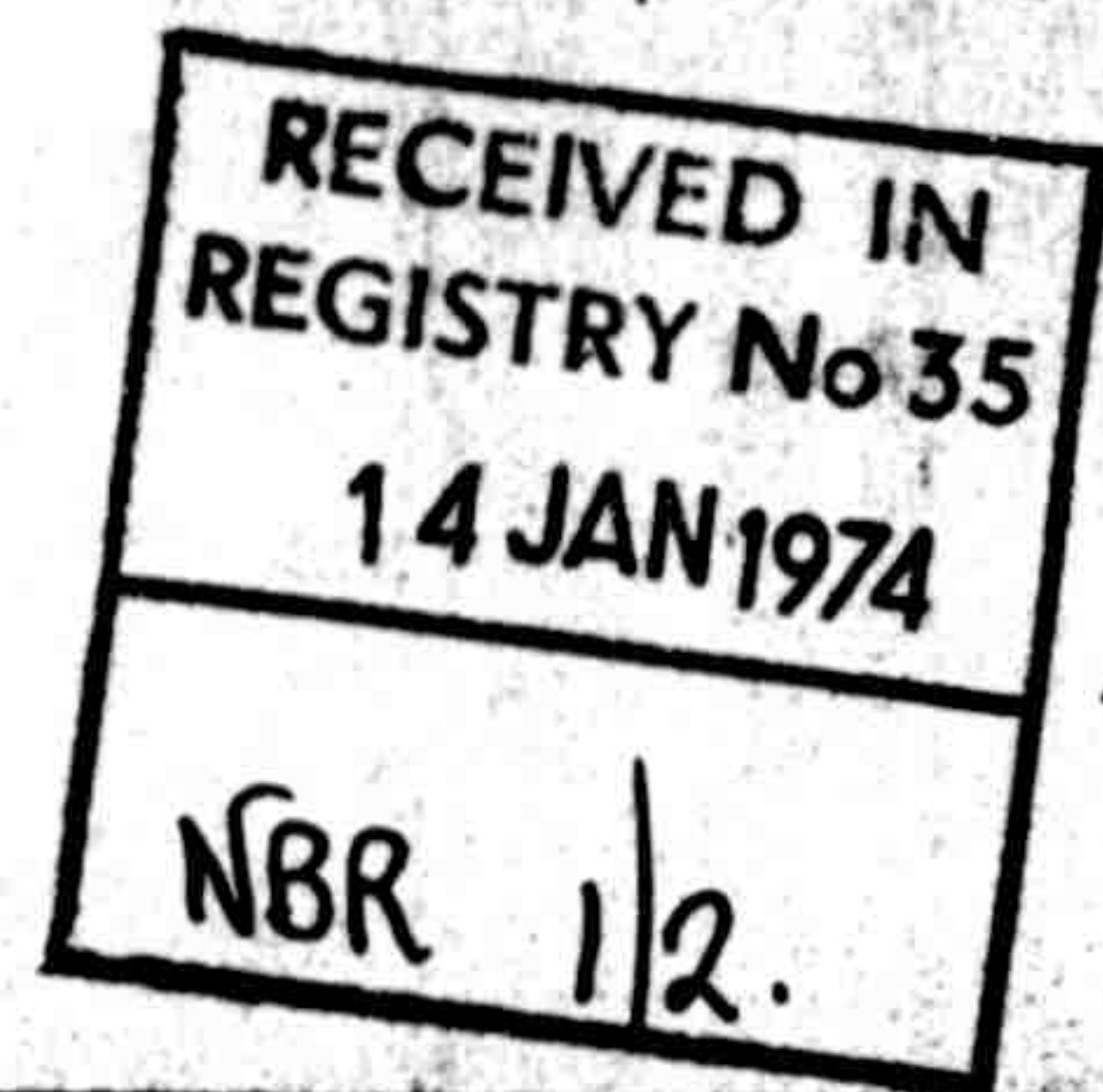
8 January 1974

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1

Telephone 01-



2

H J Arbuthnott Esq
British Embassy
TEHRAN

Your reference

Our reference

Date 11 January 1974

KURDISH DEMOCRATIC PARTY

1 You may be interested to see, somewhat belatedly, a copy of my minute of 8 November on this and related subjects. The original has only now returned to me after circulating in the office.

2 A copy of this letter and enclosure goes to the Chancery in Ankara.

G S Burton
Middle East Department

cc: Chancery, Ankara

Handwritten signature/initials

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY
British Interests Section
BAGHDAD

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35 28 JAN 1974 NBR. 1/2.

3.

G S Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London.

Your reference

Our reference 1/2

Date 19th January, 1974.

*Enter 25/1
MSB
pa*

Dear Graham,

IRAQ - KURDS

With 11 March 1974 close upon us thoughts turn increasingly towards the question of Kurdish autonomy.

2. Al Thawra of 18 January gave some editorial guidance.

" Yesterday talks were started concerning the autonomy draft plan between the Supreme Committee of the patriotic and progressive Nationalist Front, which includes representatives of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Iraqi Communist Party, on one hand, and the representatives of the Kurdistan Democratic Party. These talks have been also attended by Arab and Kurdish independent nationalist and democratic figures. "

3. 'It is the duty of the revolution and its leader- party, as well as of the patriotic and progressive National Front, which is committed towards the people by the National Action Charter, to exert all efforts to achieve autonomy by its fixed date.'

4. " There is no point of course in submitting questions which everybody knows to be lacking in unanimous national acceptance. While the previous phase had allowed for discussions and polemics which were intended for the recording of stances and achievement of immediate political gains, the present phase is totally different. What is required now is not putting stances on record and winning immediate political gains, but arrival at a final and accurate formula for autonomy and its implacement in a legal form to be legislated and implemented in the region of Kurdistan."

5. Despite all this there are few indications that the Kurds are ready to settle into any kind of permanent agreement with the central government which would relax tension in the mountain villages over the long term.

Yours ever

la

I. McCluney

CONFIDENTIAL



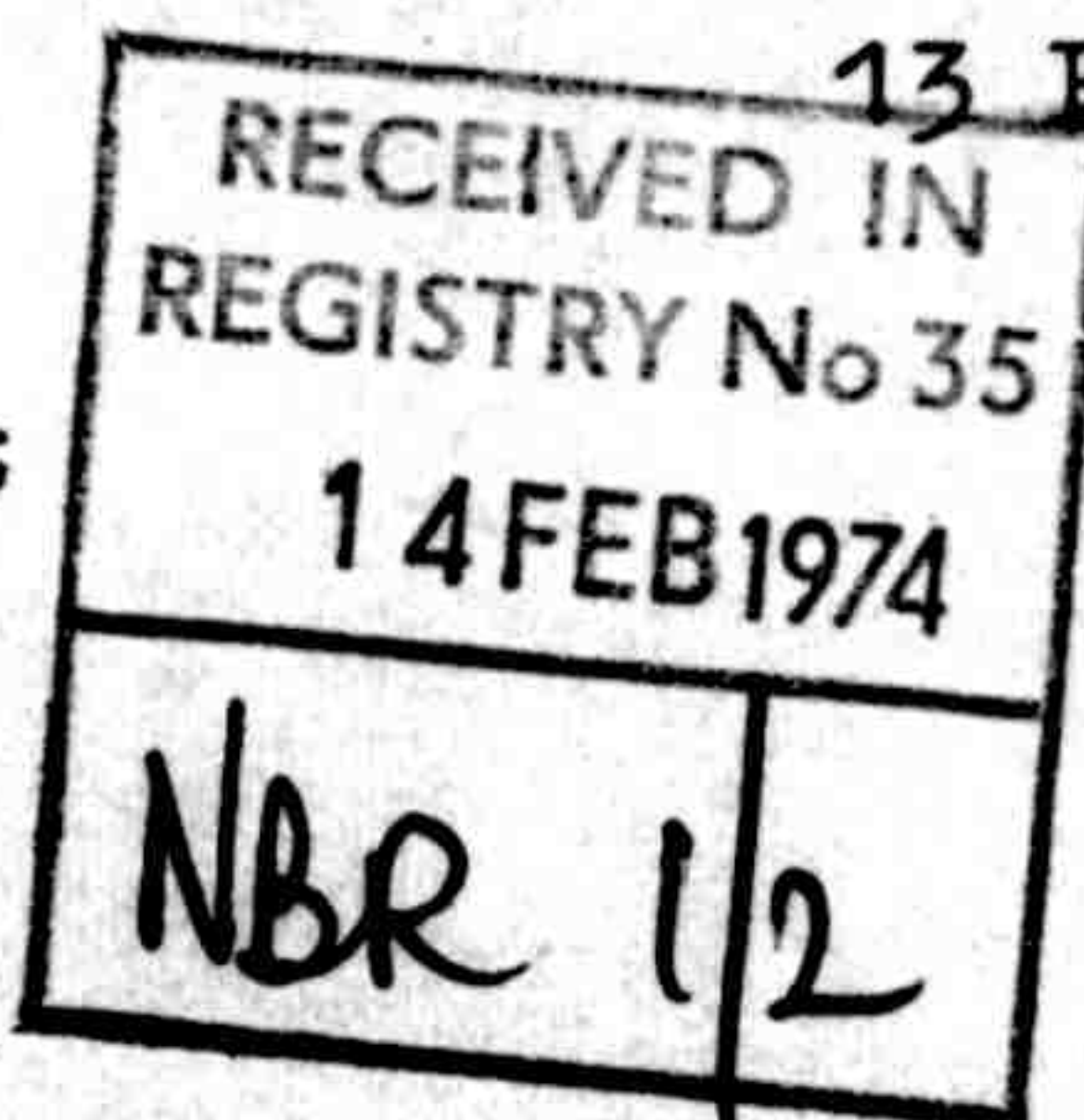
BRITISH EMBASSY

KUWAIT

4.

13 February 1974

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Department
FCO



Dear Burton.

Enter
Copy Mr. Lunde - Bureau
AMF 2 1/2 hrs. 14 Feb 1974 to see P.A.
2 1/2 hrs 25/2

PROSPECTS NOW FOR KURDISH AUTONOMY

1. The due date for an autonomous Kurdistan is 11 March 1974. In my letter 1/2 of 19 January I was pessimistic. I still am, but there are some signs of a better atmosphere which are worth drawing together. (As I have no first hand sources the content of this letter is inevitably Baghdad rumour and speculation.)
2. The Baath party produced a draft plan for Kurdish autonomy in the late summer 1973 which was at that time unacceptable to the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP). The Kurdish draft, published in "At-Taakhi" in October was similarly unacceptable to the Baath. They said then that state law (of Iraq) must overrule Kurdish law where the two met. The Kurdish area was to remain legally within the State of Iraq. Other points of difference were Kurdish membership of the RCC and a Kurdish Vice President.
3. After that we had reports of local hostilities between Communists/Assyrians and Kurds. The Baath were said to have armed the former and encouraged them to establish control over mixed townships, mainly in the Sulaimaniyah area. At one time some 200 Communists were said to be held hostage by the Kurds. (They may still be.)
4. On 20 November Kurds and Communists agreed to a 'cease-fire' and to settle their differences at the conference table. At that time and since, the KDP have probably been under Russian pressure to settle with the Communists and the Baath. Moscow broadcasting 4 January mention a KDP/CPSU meeting, and expressed the view that "disputes between revolutionary groups in Iraq must not be allowed to hinder the country's unity. The Soviet people regret the quarrels that are arising between the Iraq Communist Party and the KDP, and are confident they can reach an understanding for the sake of progressive development of the Iraqi Republic, a task for which the Soviet Union aids and supports Iraq." This may have been a threat to withdraw some aid (from the Kurds?) if they did not moderate their position.

/5.

CONFIDENTIAL



5. The Baath party redrafted their plan in late December and returned it to the KDP little changed from the original. In January talks started again, with an appeal from "Al Thawra" for neither side to advance unacceptable views. Now we hear (mainly from the Chinese and Hungarian Military Attachés) that agreement has been reached, though talks are still going on. The Kurds are to control Sinjar and Khanaquin, and Kirkuk is to be administered jointly. A Kurdish Vice President will be appointed. Regional centres of the National Front are being set up. As you remember the Kurds would not join in the National Front, Now perhaps they have agreed to do so as part of a package.

6. There are signs that the Baath are prepared to enforce agreement. The reorganisation of Iraqi divisions to contain three rather than four brigades, allows the formation of a new 8 division in Erbil. Brigades for this division are likely to include mountain troops. In the same area (Kirkuk) North Koreans are said (Lowrie, US Interests) to be helping to train a mixed Army and para-military group, controlled from Baghdad.

7. If the Iranian incursions reported at Badra (10 February) represent Iraqi army attempts to prevent Kurds forming and training in Iran, we have a picture of an imposed settlement with Kurds under pressure from Russians, Communists, Assyrians, Baath and Army to honour the 11 March deadline. I also think money could play a part in a settlement. Iraq now has money to spend, either as straight bribes, or in long promised northern development. British planners have been working with Iraq consult for a year now on plans for agricultural and related industrial development. The French have recently announced a new tourist survey of the north.

8. If a rise in general living standards is also useful the increased salaries for government employees and army, together with reductions in gas, paraffin and electricity prices, all promised for 1 April, may contribute to a feeling that a better life with the Baath is possible.

22
Pam Hall

Br

I McCluney

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ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY
British Interests Section
BAGHDAD

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY N 35 -8 MAR 1974 NBR 1/2
--

G. S. Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London.

Your reference

Our reference 3/4

Date 4 March 1974

For Graham,

IRAQ - KURDS

*Enter
15/8/74
pa*

It was announced in Baghdad 3 March that "The Higher Committee of the National and Progressive Nationalist Front held a two hour meeting this morning at which the final form of the autonomy plan for the Kurdish area was adopted and referred to the Revolutionary Command Council for legislation. The Committee also discussed appropriate formulas to bolster the Fronts activity and apply autonomy to Kurdistan at the scheduled time, and in such a form as will consolidate national unity, the national rights of the Kurdish people, tranquillity, stability, and social and economic progress within Iraqs economic potential and the framework of firm cohesion between all sons of the people and Iraqs nationalist and progressive forces. The Committee also discussed the recent visit of Saddam Hussein to the Soviet Union and expressed their satisfaction at the fruitful results of the visit and the consolidation of relations between Iraq and the friendly Soviet Union."

2. It would seem that the Government are preparing to impose a constitution on the Kurds by 11 March. It is said that troops continue to move north and the Kurdish militia have been forced to move out of some towns (Erbil and Zakho have been mentioned specifically). The mention in the communique of Saddam Husseins Moscow visit suggests there may be some connection. If the Russians have been consulted about the plans for Kurdish autonomy they have presumably agreed not to interfere. Both the Russian and Iranian Ambassadors spent 45 minutes each with Saddam Hussein yesterday.

*Yan ever
la.*

I. McCluney

c.c. Chancery, Moscow
Chancery, Tehran

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COVERING SECRET AND PERSONAL

 **Foreign and Commonwealth Office**
London SW1A 2AL

Telephone 01-

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
-8 MAR 1974

H J Arbuthnott Esq
British Embassy
TEHRAN

Your reference

Our reference

Date 8 March 1974

NBR 1/2

Dear Hugh

KURDISH DEMOCRATIC PARTY

1 Please refer to my letter of ²11 January. I now enclose a copy of a further minute recording a subsequent meeting with Alemdar. Although the section on the KDP/Ba'ath negotiations is now mostly out of date, I hope the rest will be of some interest.

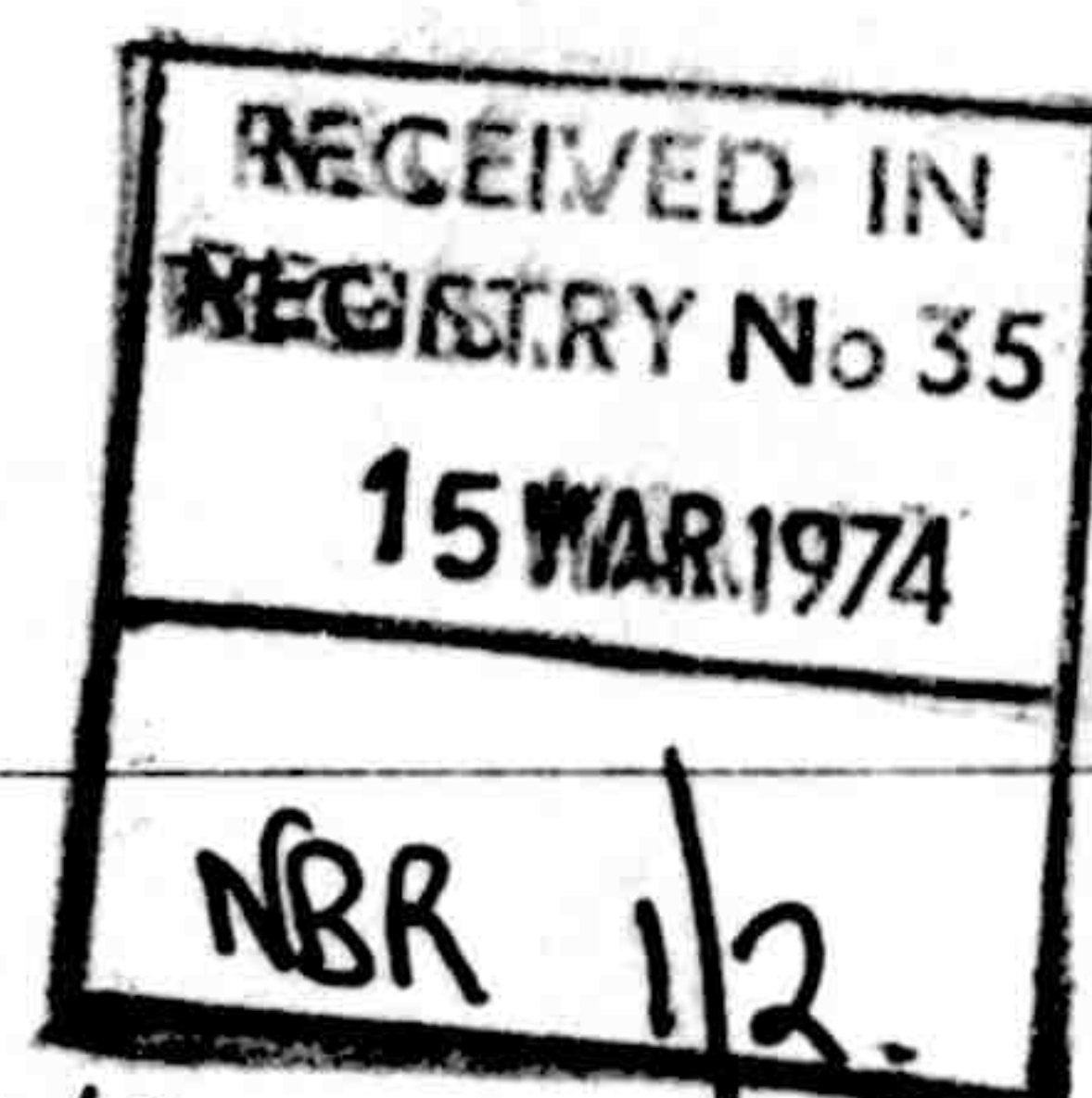
2 A copy of this letter and enclosure goes to the Chancery in Ankara.

Yours ever
Graham Burton

G S Burton
Middle East Department

COVERING SECRET AND PERSONAL

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY

British Interests Section
BAGHDAD

Your reference

Our reference

1/2

Date

12th March 1974

G S Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London.

Dear Graham,

*Copy to
Cabinet Office
Research Dept*

EB 15/3

AUTONOMY FOR KURDISTAN

President Bakr spoke on television 11 March 1974 to announce that the Revolutionary Command Council have decided to apply autonomy in the Kurdistan area in accordance with the pledge made on 11 March 1970. The text of the Presidents speech and the RCC Decision No. 247 is contained on pages 1, 7 and 8 of the enclosed copy of the Baghdad Observer. (12 March).

2. The Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) newspaper Al Taakhi of 12 March makes no mention of the RCC Decision or the accompanying speech, but publishes a statement as follows:

"In view of the present political conditions, the Political Bureau of the KDP has decided to suspend the publication of Al Taakhi and Berayati newspapers, until further notice."

This suggests that the KDP are not in a position to welcome the RCC Decision. "Al Jumhuriya" prints a congratulatory message from Ismail Mulla Aziz and Hashim Aqrawi, known pro-government members of the KDP. On the plus side we hear that one of Mulla Mustaphas sons was negotiating in Baghdad up to the last moment. A public meeting called to announce the RCC Decision 10 March was postponed to 11 March.

3. Looking at the Decision itself there are some particular points of note.

(i) The Kurdistan area is yet to be defined (Art 1 (b)) on the basis of a general census as the area populated by a majority of Kurds. The reference to the 1957 Census is probably unhelpful as at that time the Kurds were differently distributed.

(ii) Finance

The 'budgetary resources' (Art 8) are to come from two sources

- a) Local revenue of a broadly municipal nature
- b) Appropriations from the central budget

clearly no income tax or direct oil revenue will be available to the Kurdistan area by right under the present legislation.

(iii) Legislative Council

The Legislative Council (Art 10) has still to be elected under a law as yet unpublished. It may elect its own officers and may



withdraw its confidence from the (higher) Executive Council. There is provision for the President to dissolve the Legislative Council (Art 20 (a)) if it fails to secure a quorum (i.e. it is boycotted), the Executive Council fails to obtain its vote of confidence, or it ignores decisions of the Special Committee of the Court of Cassation (Art 19 (a)).

(iv) Executive Council (Art 13)

This appears to be a form of cabinet for the Kurdistan area and will have 13 - 15 members drawn from those qualified to service on the Legislative Council. The Chairman of the Executive Council is called (Art 13 (c)) by the President of the Republic to form his own 'cabinet' who then obtain a vote of confidence in the Legislative Council. The President can similarly dismiss the Chairman and his 'cabinet'.

(v) Jurisdiction of Central Authorities

Considerable powers are retained centrally. The Directors of Police, Security and "Nationality formations" (this could mean Peshmerga) are attached to the Ministry of Interior (Art 17 (a)) and appointed by the Ministry (Art 17 (c)) in consultation with the head of the Executive Council. A Minister of State appointed centrally (Art 18 (c)) may attend all meetings of the Executive and Legislative Councils. The legality of all decisions from the autonomous bodies will be supervised by a special committee of the Court of Cassation (Art 19 (a)) and implementation of decisions can be delayed by objections from the Minister of State or the Minister of Justice (Art 19 (b)).

(vi) Provision for the Arab Minority

Reference is made throughout the RCC Decision to the protection of the rights of the Arab minority. They are guaranteed

- education in Arabic (Art 2 (c))
- constitutional rights (Art 3 (a))
- representation on the Legislative and Executive Councils (Art 3 (b))

4. There is no mention in the RCC Decision of a Kurdish Vice-President, or of the Kurds desire to control Kirkuk. The administrative centre (Art 1 (e)) is to be Erbil. It will be some weeks before it is possible to assess the strength of Kurdish opposition to the RCC Decision, but their failure at this state to welcome it or give a non-committal response is not hopeful, since they must be aware of its provisions.

Yours ever

Ian

I. McCluney

c.c. Tehran
Ankara
Kuwait
Damascus
Beirut

Saiyid Aziz Aqrawi, Member of the Politbureau of the KDP & Ismail Mulla Aziz and Hashim Aqrawi, Members of the Central Committee of the KDP addressed a telegram to President Ahmad Hasan al Bakr on the occasion of the announcement of the Law for Self-Government for the District of Kurdistan, as follows:-

The promulgation and announcement of the Law for Self-Government for the Kurdistan of Iraq on the date fixed for it is considered a brilliant national achievement for our struggling people of Iraq, an important national gain for our Kurdish people, a solid base for strengthening national unity and for supporting national fraternity and the safeguarding of the gains and victories realised by our national government. The implementation of self-government and its practical exercise is considered a sacred trust on 'the necks of all of us' and requires the citizens of our Kurdish people and its vanguard the KDP and all the nationalist forces and good people among the people of Iraq to concentrate their abilities and utilise their powers for implementing it and safeguarding it against the intrigues of Imperialism and the suspects. This can only be achieved by uniting the ranks, strengthening national unity and making available suitable democratic atmospheres and vigilance and cautiousness towards the scemings of the Imperialist, Zionist and mercenary reactionary forces whose interests have been blown.

We are confident that our Kurdish people, under the leadership of the KDP, will successfully realise its progressive nationalist ambitions under the aegis of the progressive nationalist rule in Iraq through the constitutional and democratic self-government establishments and will most courageously protect this achievement and will not let the blood of its citizens, which stained the mountains and valleys of Kurdistan in the cause of self-government, to go in vain.

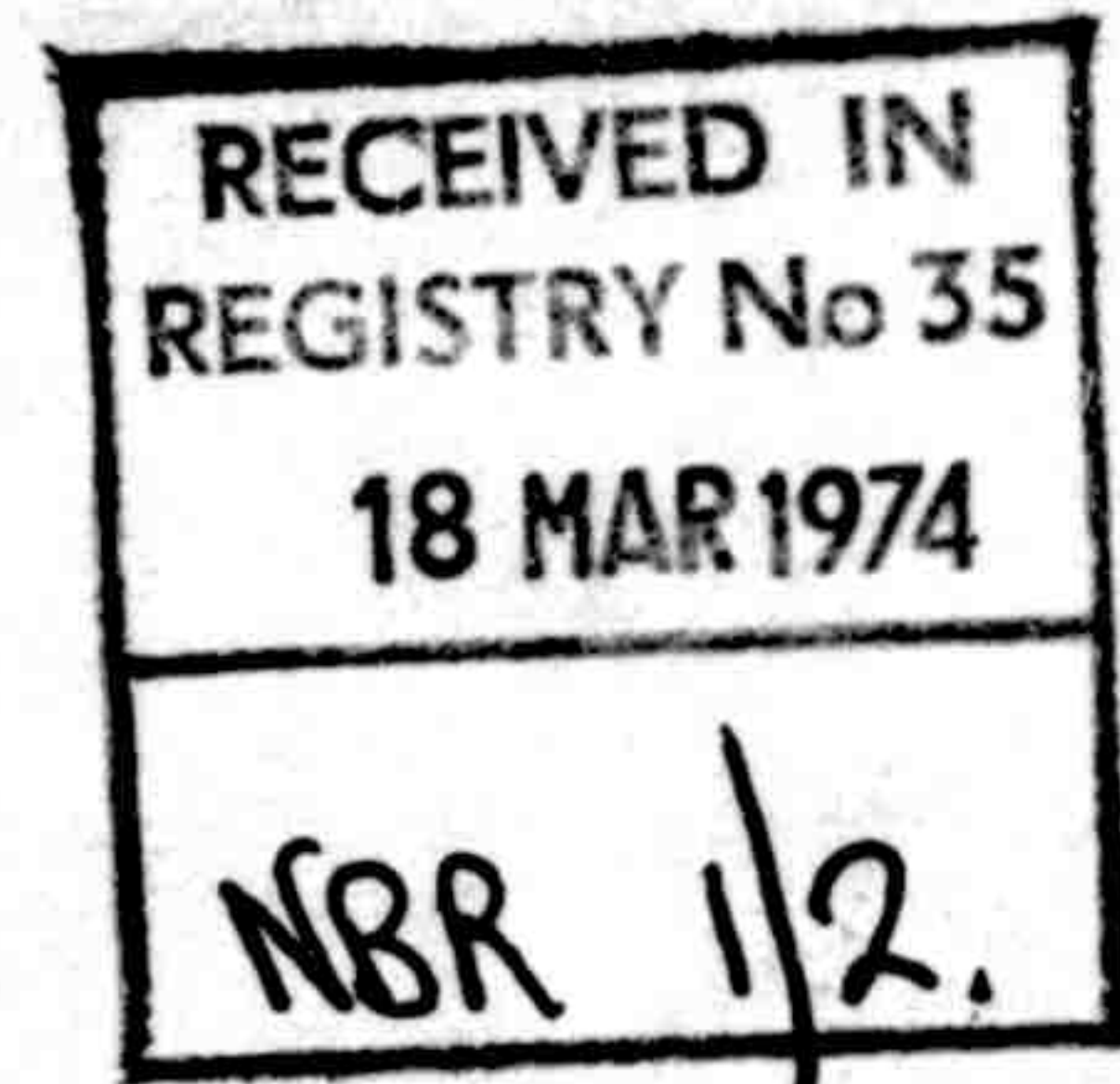
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8.

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY

British Interests Section
BAGHDAD



G S Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London SW1.

Your reference

Our reference

EKS

Date

10th March 1974

Dear Graham,
KURDISH AUTONOMY

PM 12 17/3

Rumours abound in Baghdad of the possible outcome on 11 March. A week or so ago both the Egyptian and French Ambassadors were optimistic that agreement might be peacefully reached. I have not spoken to them since.

2. A Hungarian colleague describes the possibilities as follows:

a) An agreement is reached whereby Barzani and the KDP co-operate in the National Front and there is no blood shed.

b) The Baath announce a form of autonomy which the KDP do not openly reject, preserving their options until they see how the plan works out. If it is to their disadvantage they can then claim never to have agreed to anything.

c) The Baath arrangements are rejected by the KDP and fighting breaks out in the North.

3. The second and third alternatives seem the most likely, I fear. Rumour from the north is that:

a) All able bodied men have moved out of the towns, and some cases entire villages have been evacuated to the hills. Night firing is reported in Erbil.

b) The Kurds have set up anti-aircraft guns obtained from Iran. A helicopter is said to have been shot down in Kirkuk.

c) The Iraqi Army are concentrated either in the north or on the Persian border. (Certainly the number of troops in Baghdad has been markedly reduced and we have heard 3 Division has moved north. All fighting troops have left Rutbah according to the Indian Military Attache).

/4.....

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2.



4. I spoke on Thursday to Mahmoud Othman, an ex-IPC and a well educated man who is at present Private Secretary to the Minister of Finance. He would not say much but he did confirm that the atmosphere is tense in the North.

5. It is not so quiet in Baghdad under the surface. There are rumours that a number of retired and serving Army Officers(including the General who was formerly Major of Baghdad), have been either arrested or executed. The figures vary but the concensus is about 10 executed and 30 arrested. It is said that the absence of the Army from Baghdad could have been an opportunity for a coup, but this was forstalled by arrests and executions. The number of PRB security men lining Karradat Mariam when Saddam Hussein drives by have been increased since mid February.

6. Attached is a translation from Al Thawra which indicates that the Baath Party Case will be presented to-night. The Baath have clearly shown their intention to impose a settlement if necessary.

Yours ever
Can.

I. McCluney

P.S. In haste to catch the bag + provide background to an telegraphic reporting we do if things hot up next week.

Translation from Al Thawra of 10 March 1974

The Higher Committee of the Progressive National Front is holding a meeting at Al Khuld Hall at 6 p.m. to-day, Sunday, 10 March 1974, to discuss the 'project' of the Self-Government Law.

Invitations have been addressed to a large number (665 persons) of independent nationalist personalities to attend the meeting. Those to whom there was no opportunity to send the cards ~~to whom~~ are considered invited according to the list of names given below, and are requested to attend.

(The list comprises personalities of all spheres and shades of life. They include several lawyers, doctors, university professors, directors general, almost all the ecclesiastical bodies of Iraq. These persons include Kurds, Arabs, Assyrians and Turcomans).

Translation from Al Thawra of 10 March 1974

The Eighth Regional Conference of the Socialist Arab Ba'ath Party held an extra-ordinary meeting at 10 a.m. yesterday at the Building of the National Assembly.

During the meeting, the latest developments of the negotiations proceeding between the Progressive National Front and the Kurdish Democratic Party concerning the ~~draft~~ ^{form} of self-government for the area of Kurdistan were discussed.

The Conference took a decision to announce the Law of Self-Government for the Area of Kurdistan on the date previously determined for it, i.e. the 11th of March of this year (tomorrow Monday).

The Higher Committee of the Progressive National Front had approved the draft Self-Government Law in its final form and submitted it last Sunday, the ^x2nd of March, to the Revolutionary Command Council, for enactment.

x Should be 3rd
At

PRESS ROUND-UP

IRAQ

AL-THAWRA, in its editorial on the self-rule project in Kurdistan area, under the title "Guaranteeing the National Rights, Tranquility and Stability for our Kurdish People" said:

"The progressive Supreme National-Nationalist Front Committee adopted, in a meeting it held last Sunday, the final form of the Kurdistan self-rule project and presented it to the Revolutionary Command Council for enactment. It is expected that the RCC will proclaim the law of self-rule of the Kurdish region on March 11, 1974, on the exact date set for it and according to the promise made by the Revolution and its Leader Party when they first published the historic March 11 Manifesto in 1970 and on a number of subsequent occasions in compliance with what the ABSP eighth regional conference, the Supreme Progressive National-Nationalist Front Committee and the National Action Charter, endorsed.

The draft of the self-rule project which the Supreme Committee of the Front endorsed last Sunday, has already been discussed in enlarged meetings attended by Arabs, Kurds and fraternal minorities coming from different national quarters, and in meetings held by the Supreme Committee of the Front with representatives of

the KDP leadership jointly with national and nationalist independent personalities, is one of the most comprehensive and best forms which can give the people concerned the fullest guarantee of practicing their national rights with the framework of one homeland. Its formulation was preceded and accompanied by detailed and serious studies of similar or comparative experiments made in the world, the conditions prevailing in the Iraqi Republic, and the employment of the most highly developed national talents. It was also discussed in all its phases and stages with the keenest national concern and sincere desire for arriving at the best result.

The proclamation of self-rule for the Kurdistan region will be a great historical event in the life of our Kurdish people and of all the people of Iraq, be they Arabs, Kurds or fraternal minorities, because the proclamation of the self-rule realises a very dear hope for which the masses of our Kurdish people long struggled for and which the nationalist forces in the country considered one of the basic props of building the national, cooperative and developed society in which all citizens enjoy their full rights in liberty, democracy and social progress.

It is necessary to point out that our country, while

entering this important stage of its democratic progressive development, will be exposed to diverse forms of conspiracies and intrigues aiming at obstructing the proclamation of self-rule for the Kurdistan region and at foiling its application with the sole object of diverting the citizens away from constructive and fruitful national work under national unity and then to dissipate their energies, create an atmosphere of confusion and conflict in accordance with schemes drawn for this purpose and dreamed by the colonialist, reactionary quarters and by suspicious elements and those people who want to serve their own interests under such abnormal conditions.

"The proclamation of self-rule for the Kurdistan region and its application is a public national cause with which all the people and its forces of good are keenly concerned. The proclamation of self-rule and its application are not the outcome of pressures or manoeuvres from any quarter but are a natural step taken along the path of development of revolution and of building a sound democratic society, solution of basic national problems and provision of the necessities for progress. They also are one of the fruits of the joint national action and the spirit of safeguarding the national interests — the spirit which the July 17 revolution and its leadership ABSP inculcated in the country, and

which was personified by constructive work in the framework of the Front.

"Therefore, the self-rule for the Kurdistan region will be applied fully with the spirit of national responsibility and deep concern for the interests and aspirations of the Kurdish masses and of all the people and with keen interest in providing all requirements for tranquility, stability and productive work in all the parts of the country.

"It is necessary to stress with full determination and the steadfastness to all the members of the people and especially to those of our Kurdish people, members of KDP and all the sincere national elements that self-rule, like any other national gain, belongs to them all and it is they who bear the responsibility of putting it in practice and carrying it unto success in a way that would realise their hopes and objectives. The sole condition made for that, as we have repeatedly announced, is the deep concern of all for national unity, the supreme interests of the country and joint action in the framework of the progressive National-Nationalist Front. It is also necessary to stress that difference in opinions and viewpoints in the united national rank, in the past and at the present, is a natural matter and a legitimate right of every citizen for whom the revolution, the ABSP and the progressive National-Nationalist

Front are keenly zealous to ensure and respect. We are all duty bound to expose vehemently and confront those evil attempts endeavouring hard to create an atmosphere of confusion and fear by different pretexts, false and fabricated rumours, made by the imperialist and suspicious quarters.

"Our country is entering into a great development stage of its life, and this is not expected to take place without difficulties. But our Iraqi people in its Arabs, Kurds and fraternal minorities, who have lived through many bitter experiences and out of which our people learned many lessons and examples, knows exactly which is the right path to tread and which will realise for them their objectives and aspirations. Our people also knows fully the evil purposes and goals underlying the attempts to draw it into conflict and confusion — those attempts created by the imperialist and reactionary quarters and the gangs who worship their own selfishness and their illegitimate interests.

"Let us stand as one rank — Arabs, Kurds, and fraternal minorities — building our new society. Let us exert productive efforts in applying the self-rule and in achieving the legitimate national rights of our Kurdish people. Let the banners of the brotherhood of the Arabs, Kurds, and fraternal minorities tower high. And advance forward."

CYPHER CAT A

FM BAGHDAD 160700Z MAR.

TOP COPY

R E S T R I C T E D

TO ROUTINE FCO TEL NO 080 OF 16 MARCH 1974. INFO
ROUTINE ANKARA, TEHERAN AND SAVING TO DAMASCUS
KUWAIT AND BEIRUT.

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
18 MAR 1974
NBR 1/2

KURDISH TROUBLE.

1. IRAQ GOVERNMENT HAVE SO FAR MADE NO STATEMENT ABOUT INCIDENTS IN THE NORTH IN THE LAST FEW DAYS.
2. IN THE COURSE OF A SPEECH 14 MARCH ABOUT NATIONAL FRONT/KDP NEGOTIATIONS LEADING TO AUTONOMY DECISION OF 11 MARCH, SADDAM HUSSEIN SAID THAT " SEVERAL AREAS IN THE NORTH WERE, AS EVERYONE KNOWS, COMPLETELY VOID OF STATE AUTHORITY." BUT THIS IS MORE HISTORICAL FACT THAN NEW INFORMATION.
3. BRITISH SUBJECTS WORKING IN ERBIL AND SULAIMANIYAH CAME DOWN TO BAGHDAD BEFORE 11 MARCH. THEY AND OTHER TRAVELLERS ARE CONSULTING THEIR SPONSORING IRAQI DEPARTMENTS BEFORE LEAVING BAGHDAD FOR THE NORTH. LIFE IN BAGHDAD IS NORMAL SEMICOLON NO SIGN OF TENSION.
4. FCO PLEASE PASS SAVING TO DAMASCUS, KUWAIT AND BEIRUT.

MCCLUNEY

[REPEATED AS REQUESTED]

FILES:
MED
NENAD
CONSULAR D
MR WEIR

RESTRICTED

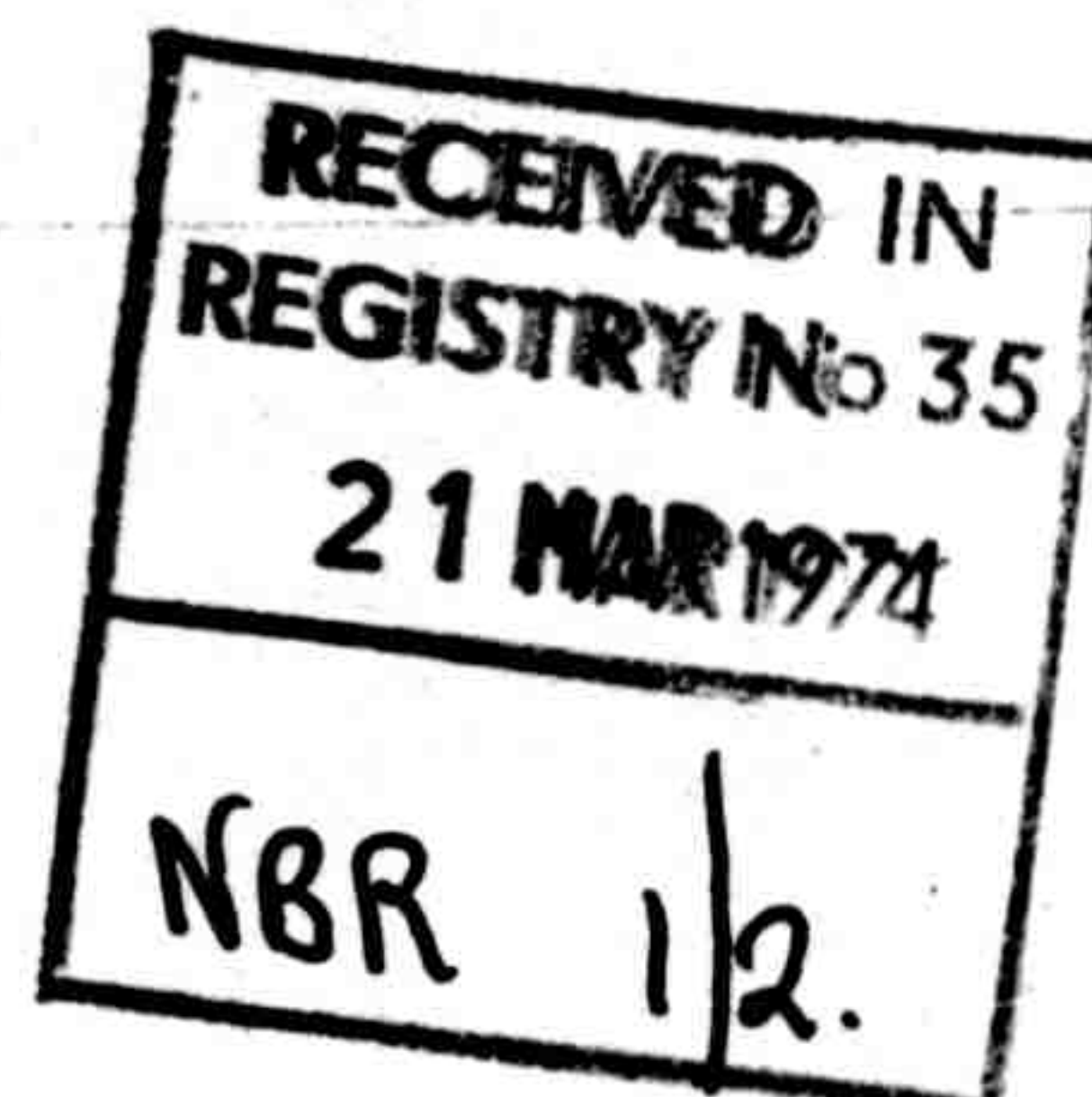
14
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20

Copy under comp. slip to
M.E. Dept. F.C.O.
Br. Interests Section, BAGHDAD
CHANCERY: - Tehran ✓

16.

Thursday, March 14, 1974

401B5239/B



AUTONOMY FOR THE IRAQI KURDS

Pavel Demchenko

An event of truly historic importance has taken place in the political life of Iraq: on March 11 it was officially announced in Baghdad that Kurdistan was granted autonomy.

The Iraqi people had to cover a difficult path to achieve this. For some decades British imperialism regarded the stirring up of contradictions between the Arabs and Kurds as an important tool for preserving its domination over the land lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates Rivers. However, even after the colonialists had been ousted from the country and the monarchy overthrown in Baghdad the Republican authorities were unable to achieve a firm national unity.

In 1967 military hostilities flared up against the liberation forces, led by the Kurdish Democratic Party, in the northern districts of Iraq inhabited by the Kurds. It was a fratricidal war instigated by the reactionary chauvinistic circles and oil monopolies interested in the split of the nation.

In the summer of 1968 the present leadership of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath) came to power and the view on the Kurdish problem began to change in Iraq. The Manifesto published in March 1970 announced the complete ending of military hostilities in Kurdistan and the granting of the basic national rights for the Iraqi Kurds, for which they had been fighting arms in hand for many a year. It was also announced that the two-million-strong Kurdish population would receive autonomy within the framework of a united Iraqi state in four years. And now this promise has been carried out within the time set.

This has become possible thanks to the favourable changes in the political life of the country.

However, the difficulties standing in the way of the settlement of the Kurdish problem have not yet been surmounted. There is a continued interference of foreign agents into Kurdish affairs. The activity of the Right-wing elements, who have penetrated into the Kurdish Democratic Party thanks to its class heterogeneity, and their attempts to galvanize separatist sentiments make themselves felt, which in the present situation plays into the hands of Iraq's enemies. The differences in the interpretation of some of the propositions of the March Manifesto have not yet been overcome, in particular, the precise demarcation of the borders of Kurdistan.

Thursday, March 14, 1974

3

- 2 -

As is reported from Baghdad, it is believed that the controversial points and details could be agreed upon within 15 days.

The proclamation of the Kurdish autonomy is, undoubtedly, an important landmark in Iraq's progressive development.

(Pravda, March 14. Abridged.)

CONFIDENTIAL

→ GB (MED)
Copy for MED.

(11)

27/3
28/3

DA/40

19 March 1974

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY NO 368 26 MAR 1974 NBR 1/2
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Squadron Leader A E Shepherd RAF
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LONDON SW1A 2HB

As I reported last week the Turkish Government took certain precautionary measures in South Eastern Turkey in early March against possible Kurdish disturbances. These measures took the form initially of a general alert of units in the area, and military exercises which were attended by the Commanders of the Ground Forces and of the Gendarmerie. They were timed to coincide with the official declaration by the Iraq Government on March 11th of autonomy for the Kurds of Northern Iraq. We have no indication that the Turkish Government had reason to expect the outbreak of fighting in Northern Iraq which followed rejection by Barzani of the terms of the declaration. It seems more likely that the precautionary moves were mainly directed against the Turkish Kurds in case they felt inclined to try to draw attention to their own case for autonomy following the Iraq Government's concession to the Iraqi Kurds. This would be the normal pattern; exercises are held in the Kurdish areas around Diyarbakir and along the border with Iraq, at regular and frequent intervals.

The Defence Minister made a statement on March 12th in which he said that the Turkish Government had taken note of the developments but considered them the internal affair of Iraq. He did not expect them to spread but vigilance was necessary for security. On the same day a popular newspaper made the comment that an expansion of the conflict with the Barzani forces would mean the end of oil from Iraq and that Turkey's situation in that event was not very bright. This perhaps was getting a little nearer the truth.

On March 14th we heard that Turkey had closed her border with Iraq to prevent infiltration and refugees from Iraq. According to press reports the Kurds were along the whole length of the border and had closed the Anayol Pass near Zaho. They were said to be sabotaging oil installations in Kirkuk and to have raided an Iraqi frontier post near Habur, killing four Iraqi soldiers and capturing fourteen others. It was also widely reported in the Turkish press that the Kurds were receiving assistance from Iran and the USA. Later on the same day Zaho itself, which is on the road to the main crossing point over the border into Turkey, was said to be in Kurdish hands, but this seemed doubtful because of the sizeable Iraq garrison there, including at least a squadron of Tanks. Turkish troops were reported to have set up road blocks near Cizre, West of Habur on the Turkish-Syrian border, to control internal traffic. The Turkish press also carried reports that Barzani had appealed to all Kurds (the Kurdish minority in Turkey is between two and four million) to help in the fight against the Baghdad Government, although the Turkish State radio and semi-official Anatolian Agency did not refer to the fighting in Iraq. It is probable that at this time some additional troops including elements of the Commando Brigade were moved into the area and I would judge that besides preventing refugees from Iraq entering Turkey, there was concern to prevent Kurds from Turkey moving across the border to join in the party.

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By March 18th the local press were reporting that the fighting had died down and I heard last night that the Commanders of the Ground Forces and Gendarmerie were back in Ankara. For the moment that is all the news I have. I have the impression that these events did not cause undue alarm in official circles here, which seem far more taken up with the poppy question. The precautions which were taken were probably sensible. People who know the area think that a major reaction by the Turkish Kurds is unlikely, but they are a volatile lot and the Turks take no chances with them. Finally there are the wider political implications which are outlined by a local columnist as follows, "On one side Turkey has her traditional friend Iran, whose stance in this problem hardly satisfies this country. On the other there is Iraq, who is a friendly country cooperating with Turkey over oil and other economic matters. In this sensitive balance Turkey's wish is for nothing but stability and peace in the region and it is to be hoped that no country, friend or foe, is starting an adventure here." I wonder whether this comment was picked up by the Tass man here; I see that the same agency in Moscow reports that Marshal Grechko will visit Iraq between 23 and 27 March!

H. H. M. MARSTON

H H M Marston
(Brigadier)

COPY TO: JISNE

COPY TO: CHANCERY ✓

CONFIDENTIAL

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY

British Interests Section
BAGHDADG S Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London SW1.

Your reference

Our reference 1/2

Date 18 March 1974

Dear Graham,

IRAQ KURDS

On 12 March Saddam Hussein gave the Kurdish Democratic Party fifteen days to join the National Front and undertake a commitment to the Autonomy decision of the Revolutionary Command Council. The text of the INA report is enclosed.

2. You may also be interested in some of the messages of support received by the President. One telegram said to come from Barazanis son Obaidullallah Mustapha Barazani, praises the Presidents Leadership and expresses confidence that "the Kurdish people will expect further progress and prosperity under the autonomy and will exert all in their power to bring success to this experiment".

3. The daily newspapers in general up to this point have not mentioned any of the incidents on the borders or in the north. We are writing separately on what we have heard here about the general situation. It is not very encouraging at this stage.

Yours ever

la

I. McCluney

KDP REPRESENTATIVES GIVEN 15 DAYS
TO JOIN NATIONAL FRONT & UPHOLD
COMMITMENT TO AUTONOMY LAW

Baghdad, 12th March - INA.

Comrade Saddam Hussein, Deputy Secretary General of the ABSP Regional Leadership and Vice-Chairman of the RCG has declared that the door will remain open for 15 days effective from the date of the proclamation of the Autonomy Law for the Kurdistan area before representatives of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) to join the national and progressive nationalist front and undertake commitment to the Autonomy Law.

Comrade Hussein said: "We have informed the KDP representatives that in the meantime we will count ourselves to their being allies to us provided no abnormal act of violation to security and law is made. If such act will occur our commitment will have been dropped." Comrade Hussein was speaking at a meeting held by the National and Progressive Nationalist Front at Al-Khuld hall in Baghdad yesterday evening. The meeting was attended by more than 1000 patriotic and progressive nationalist personalities.

In reply to a question, Comrade Hussein said: "The Kurds are our people and we are considering their future with devotion more than others do". He also affirmed that in the calculations of building the new society, the issue on stake "is not just the nationalist belonging. The fundamental issue is the extent of faith in the march for progressive build-up which we are seeking, in building up socialism in this society and in this country".

Cont'd...

At the time we regard there existed one Kurdish person responsible for all Kurds, their legitimate rights and their aspirations, or one person of the minorities responsible for that minority more than we do and believing in that within the legitimate bounds to build the unified Iraqi society, at that time we will consider ourselves illegible to lead this society, he said.

Comrade Hussein added: "Our Kurdish people should rest assured - and the haul of the past four years is enough to make them do so - that we are keen on their future as much as they do. We are concerned for their future, security and stability and for their occupying their position in the Iraqi society and in the operation of national construction".

He affirmed that there could be no pursuance against any Iraqi citizen "if that citizen opted to the democratic course in dialogue and if he stemmed his dialogue from principles of the National Action Charter, if his dialogue is based on the revolution's central principles in general". A citizen is not questioned for other's felony, he said adding, "the Iraqi citizen is responsible for his own conduct. He is respected as much as his conduct is consistent with laws, and he is brought to account within laws as much as he divorces himself from laws".

Comrade Hussein made it abundantly clear that those trying to frighten KDP members by saying everybody of them would be hurled to prison, "were but trying to propagate baseless claim. Even if no accord could be reached with the KDP leadership, the KDP as

Cont'd...

a party, would continue to be represented in the Front". He said that "what we are saying is not just assurances to officials and students. We are only affirming the principles of the Front's outlook for our people and the outlook of the authority and state for the entire people".

AUTONOMY LAW WIDELY ACCLAIMED
AT HOME AND ABROAD

Baghdad, 12th March -- INA.

The world press, news agencies, radio and TV stations have given wide-coverages and made commentaries on the RCC resolution for application of autonomy in the Kurdish-populated area of Iraq, within territorial integrity of the Republic of Iraq. Attention was particularly given in Arab and foreign capitals and in their information media to the fulfilment of the pledge made by the July 17 Revolution on March 11, 1970 to apply self-rule for the Kurdish area and legislate the pertinent law.

Most of the Arab and foreign broadcasting stations and news agencies quoted substantial sections of the statement which President Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr himself delivered over the national radio and TV network last night proclaiming autonomy of the area. INA correspondents say the resolution has been reported in the Arab press under front-page banner headlines and described as a prominent event in the history of Iraq.

Cont'd...

In Beirut, the newspaper "Al-Lous", described the RCC resolution as a bold and large-scale political initiative made in implementation of the historic March 11 Manifesto. It said that inspite of the delicate circumstances through which the Kurdistan area "is passing and inspite of the tense atmosphere created on Iraq's eastern borders by constant Iranian aggressions, the Iraqi political leadership resolved to implement self-rule to the Kurds in keeping with the spirit and contents of the March 11 Manifesto".

The Cairo press and information media gave prominence to the event and quoted provisions from the autonomy law. The press unanimously agreed that the decision would bolster the country's national unity. In Kuwait the press splashed banner headlines about the event and indicated that a new era was ushered in to Iraq's northern area. In Aden, capital of Democratic Yemen, Mr. Abdul Fattah Ismail, Secretary General of the National Front's Political Organization declared that Iraq's success in resolving the Kurdish problem by granting self-rule to the Kurds was a great success for the Iraqi National cause and a step marked by democracy and progressiveness achieved by the Arab Baath Socialist Party and the Iraqi people. We do, realise, he said, how important is the settlement of the Kurdish problem in view of difficulties and circumstance prevailed in the past.

In Iraq, massive demonstrations of support walked in main streets of Iraqi governorate centres, welcoming the proclamation of autonomy to the Kurdish area in

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implementation of the historic manifesto. The RCC resolution also received widest support from all strata of the people, political parties, organizations and professional bodies. Telegrams of support came from personages, women organizations, workers, teachers, peasants, engineers, and all professions supporting the courageous step taken by the national authority.

KDP Leaders Support

Mr. Aziz Agrawi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), Mr. Ismail Mulla Aziz and Mr. Hashim Agrawi, both members of the Central Committee of the Kurdistan Democratic Party sent the following telegram to President Bakr, to Mr. Saddam Hussein, RCC Vice-Chairman, the members of the ABSP Regional Leadership and to the members of the NPNE Higher Committee.

"The legislation and proclamation of the law of autonomy for Iraqi Kurdistan in schedule is regarded a splendid patriotic accomplishment for our struggling Iraqi people. It is an important nationalist gain for our Kurdish people, a solid base for bolstering national unity and consolidating fraternity and a step preserving the achievements and victories realised by our national government.

"The application and exercise of autonomy is an article of faith for all of us and it requires our Kurdish people's countrymen and their leading party the Kurdistan Democratic Party and all righteous patriotic forces of our struggling Iraqi people to mobilize all their capabilities and make full use of all

Cont'd...

their energies for the cause of its application and its protection from intrigues of imperialism and suspect elements. This cannot be achieved without consolidating our national ranks, shoring up national unity, providing the appropriate democratic atmospheres and standing with vigilance and watchfulness vis-a-vis schemings of the imperialist and Zionist circles and of reactionary hireling forces whose interests have been smashed.

We are confident that our Kurdish people, led by the Kurdistan Democratic Party, will successfully achieve its objectives and progressive nationalist aspirations under the shade of the progressive national regime of Iraq and through the autonomy's constitutional democratic institutions. Our Kurdish people will gallantly and efficiently protect this national accomplishment and will not let the blood of its sons spilt over the mountains and valleys of Kurdistan for the cause of achieving autonomy be wasted".

A telegram from the Acting Governor of Sulaimaniyah, Mr. Arif Taha says that in the name of the Sulaimaniyah masses and all administrative officials and civil servants and employees, "We support your historic decision proclaiming autonomy for the Kurdistan area. We bless your powerful steps in laying down the foundations of security and stability in all the areas of our beloved Iraq. Long live the Iraqi people, Arabs, Kurds and fraternal national minorities in peace and amity. God bless your steps for the well-being of the people".

Cont'd...

From the Director General of the Iraqi Ports Administration, Mr. Abdul Jabbar Al-Saadi: "Your proclamation of autonomy for our Kurdish people in schedule represented a smashing blow to schemings of the hirelings and imperialists and a practical implementation of the humanitarian orientation of our leader party, the Arab Baath Socialist Party. In my name and on behalf of the staff-members of the Iraqi Ports Administration, we bless your gigantic step and we vow to press on for realizing all that is in the interest of our people and nation and for repulsing the Iranian aggressions on the borders of our revolutionary homeland. Forward".

Telegrams came from the Kuwait branches of the General Federation of Eritrean students, the National Union of Bahraini students and the General Federation of Palestinian students, all supporting the proclamation of autonomy for the Kurdish area and regarding it as reflecting the aspirations of our people for democracy and freedom. The resolution affirmed revolutionary Iraq's adherence to the progressive revolutionary course, the telegram said.

KRP Backs up Resolution

The Political Bureau of the Kurdistan Revolutionary Party, in a telegram to President Bakr, the RCC Vice-Chairman and the ABSP Regional Leadership, blessed the RCC resolution proclaiming autonomy for the Kurdish area. The telegram said in text: "The Politbureau of the Central Committee of the Kurdistan Revolutionary Party avail themselves of the proclamation of autonomy for the area of Iraqi Kurdistan to bless your courageous steps represented by the proclamation of the autonomy law for our Kurdish people.

Cont'd...

"The implementation of the autonomy law is the best guarantee for the victorious march forward of our Iraqi people and a devastating blow to imperialism and its stooges outside and inside the country. Our Kurdistan Revolutionary Party vows to exert all efforts and energies to protect the gains of the progressive revolution of July 17 from intrigues of imperialism and its stooges. Long live Arab-Kurdish fraternity. Long live our Republic, the Republic of Arabs and Kurds".

Telegram from Communists:

A telegram from the Local Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party in Kirkuk Governorate states: "In the name of all communists and their friends in the governorate of Kirkuk, we announce our full support and complete backing to the autonomy law for Kurdistan. The application of self-rule in Iraqi Kurdistan is a great progressive patriotic accomplishment reflecting aspirations of our Kurdish people for realizing their legitimate nationalist rights. It's a powerful blow directed against imperialism, Zionism and reaction and against their criminal schemings designed against the unity of our Iraqi people, Arabs, Kurds and fraternal national minorities".

The Kirkuk Branch Leadership of the Arab Baath Socialist Party also sent a telegram stating: "In the name of all hard-toiling class of Kirkuk, Sulaimaniya and Arbil, we salute your historic resolution, a resolution of upholding the pledge and commitment to the people's interests. The resolution of autonomy is an important victory for all the masses of our people,

Cont'd...

Arabs, Kurds and minorities. The completion of the last link of the March 11 Manifesto by the promulgation of the autonomy law is an addition to the great accomplishments of nationalization of oil monopolies, setting up of the National and Progressive Nationalist Front and the resolute stand taken against apostasy emerged in the Arab arena. We pledge to follow your prudent leadership under the slogan of defending the self-rule and defending the victorious revolution. Victory is for the righteous and progressive will. Forward".

Barzani's Support RCC

Barzani's son, Mr. Ubaidullah Mustafa Al-Barzani, in a telegram to President Bakr to the RCC Vice-Chairman and to the ABSP Regional Leadership affirmed that the Kurdish people which tasted security and stability in the past four years expect further progress and prosperity and would exert all it could to bring success to the RCC resolution.

The telegram said: "Your proclamation of the law of autonomy to the area of Iraqi Kurdistan in schedule in accordance of the historic March 11 Manifesto is a resolute evidence of your principled commitment to realizing the national aspirations of our Kurdish people and of your genuine devotion for strengthening the bonds of national unity between our Arab and Kurdish peoples and other minorities living in amity in our beloved Iraq".

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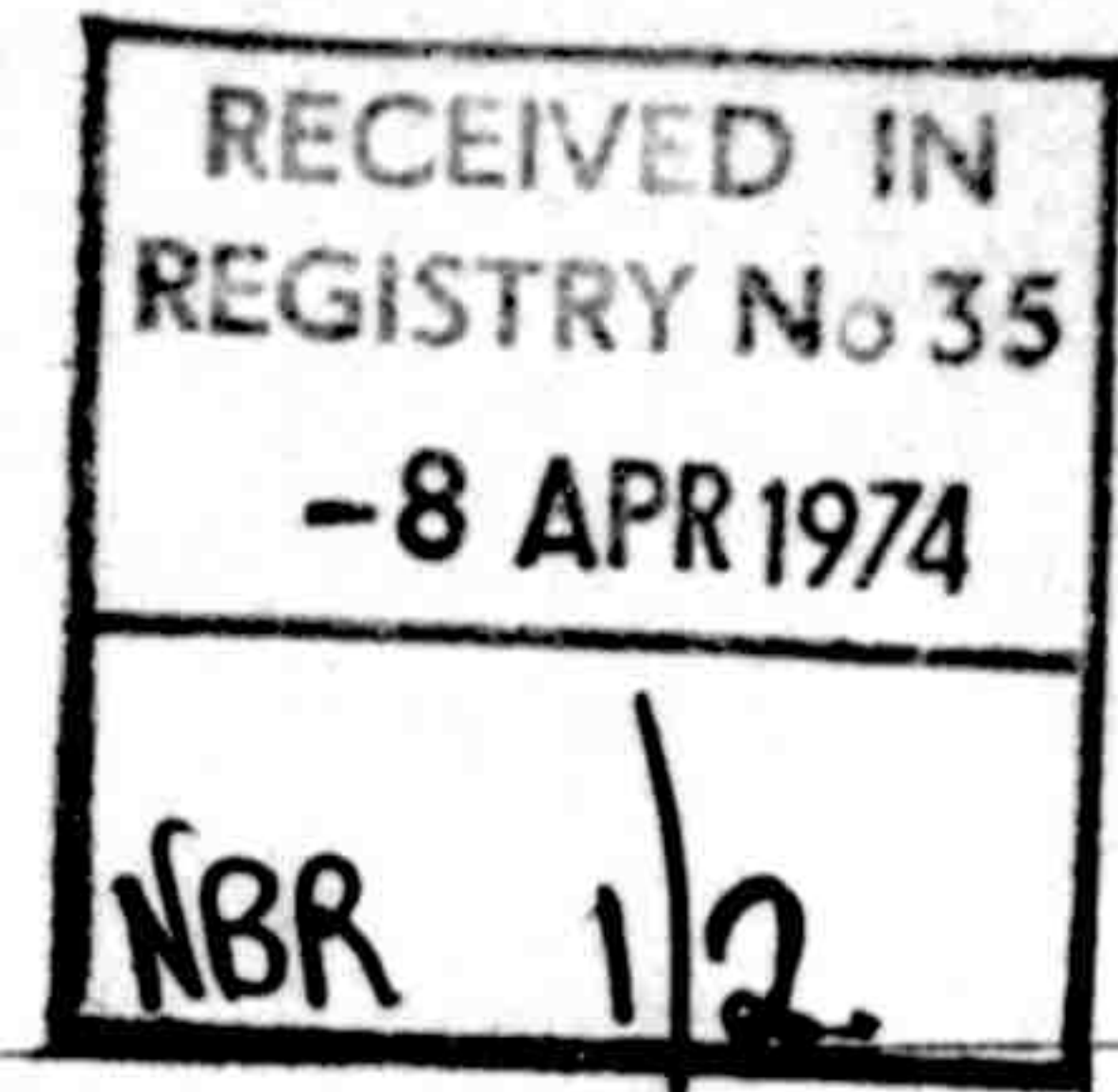
"This revolutionary step of yours comes to deepen the gigantic accomplishments realised by your prudent leadership for our country in the past five and a half years and to consecrate the unity of all patriotic forces of Iraq which should double their efforts to bring success to the autonomy law you proclaimed yesterday evening.

"Our Kurdish people struggled long for the cause of realising this spectacular nationalist gain and for which it had given numerous sacrifices is now called to exercise its legitimate right for autonomy in cooperation with all honest and righteous sons of our Iraqi people and its national forces who are keen on preserving the unity of Iraq and the happiness of its people.

"I am confident that the sons of our Kurdish people who have felt security and stability in the past four years and who expect further progress and prosperity under the autonomy, will exert all in their power to bring success to this experiment. God give you success in serving our country, and our people, Arabs and Kurds".

Shaikh Othman Al-Barzani also cabled support and pledged to exert all his efforts for the application of autonomy law and for protecting the historic resolutions. "Your resolution granting self-rule for the Kurdistan area embodied the aspirations of our Kurdish people and consolidated Arab-Kurdish fraternity in the one homeland. We pledge to exert all in our power to apply and protect the historic resolution and we call on all sincere men from among Kurds to rally round this great national gain and to protect it from plots and intrigues of imperialism. We implore the Almighty God to give success to all for serving our beloved Iraq".

ROYAL SWEDISH EMBASSY
British Interests Section
BAGHDAD



13

G.S. Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London.

Your reference

Our reference 1/2

Date 31 March 1974

Enter

For Graham,

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL FOR KURDISTAN

7

The Revolutionary Command Council has promulgated the laws of the new Legislative Council for Kurdistan referred to in my letter 1/2 of 12 March. The decisions were announced through TV and the press, and enclosed is the text of the new laws published in the Baghdad Observer on the 27 March 74, together with four further decisions by the Revolutionary Command Council on a General Amnesty, Language, Appeal Court and Schooling in Kurdistan.

2. THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL LAW is made up of ten articles, the first specifying the number of members at 80 and the remainder giving straight forward details of its terms of service and procedures. Detail of article ten is missing but this allows for the first members to be nominated rather than elected.

3. THE GENERAL AMNESTY is applied to all Kurds, servicemen, police, Government Officials, workers etc., to return to their places of work within a period of 30 days e.g. by 25 April. This indicates that there has been a widespread departure of able bodied men to the hills.

4. LANGUAGE: Both the Kurdish and Arabic languages are official. The Kurdish language has of course been taught at schools throughout Iraq for some time.

5. AN APPEAL COURT is to be established in Erbil. No further details on its constitution or terms of reference are published.

6. SCHOOLING: This decision allows for Kurdish Schools to be established outside the autonomous areas.

Yours ever

la

I. McCluney

Pa 10/4

RCC promulgates new laws

General amnesty for Kurdish militarymen and civilians

The Revolutionary Command Council decided at its session yesterday the promulgation of law for the Legislative Council of the area of Kurdistan.

The Law specified the number of council members at 80 to be elected through a direct free poll, and defined the terms for membership and the details related to the nature of the Legislative Council's activity, term of office and powers.

Article (10) of the Law permitted the selection of the first Legislative Council members by a method other than election.

Meanwhile, the RCC promulgated the General Amnesty Law for Kurdish militarymen and civilians.

Article (1) of the Law exempted Kurdish members of the armed forces, in the army, police, security, citizenship and border guards, who have joined or will join the nearest military post before or within the 30-day period, beginning with the effective date of the Law (concluding yesterday) from the sanctions provided for in the military laws, in connection with their absence, absenteeism, detection of violation, as well as from the po-

nalties provided for in the Military Criminal Code and the punishments of discharge from the army passed for the above-mentioned reasons.

The Law also exempted the Kurds from the penalties provided for in the Military Service Law (amended), the National Defence and Reserve Service Laws, if they join the nearest military posts before or within the 30-day period specified by the Law, as from its effective date.

Article (4) of the General Law clarified that the detainees and prisoners covered by this Law should immediately be released.

The RCC also decided that the Arabic language be the language of official correspondence between the central authority or its representatives and the autonomous bodies, and that the Arabic or Kurdish language, in its current manuscript, be the language of documents, correspondence and other formalities within the area of autonomy.

The RCC permitted every citizen to either use the Arabic language or the Kurdish language in the official formalities within the area.

In another decision, the RCC established an appeal department in the autonomous area to be headquartered in the city of Arbil. It also resolved

to establish Kurdish schools for the Kurds residing outside the autonomous area in accordance with the principles and rules regulated by the Ministry of Education.

Following are full texts of the RCC resolution:

(Continued on page 2)

SADDAM HUSSEIN'S STATEMENT

Broadcasting and television interviews transmitted in full the statement made by Commander Saddam Hussein, Deputy Secretary-General of the Arab Baath Socialist Party and Vice-Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council at the meeting convened by the Higher Committee of Progressive National and Nationalist Front at Al-Khaldi Hall on March 11, 1974, to discuss the autonomy programme for the Kurdistan area.

ARTICLE THREE:

Each of the Legislative Council members may address under the Council's internal regulations, questions and inquiries to the Executive Council members on matters falling within their competence, and they shall provide replies to the same.

Deliberations of the Inquiry shall be held seven days after the date of submitting them.

(B) One quarter of the Legislative Council members may submit a request demanding the withdrawal of confidence from the Executive Council or one of its members, and the Council shall only discuss the request seven days after the date of submitting it,

and voting thereupon shall be held two days after its deliberation.

ARTICLE TEN:

TRANSITIONAL

DECISION NO. 306

23 MARCH 24, 1974

Pursuant to Para (A) Article (42) and Para (A), Article (61) of the Interim Constitution, the Revolutionary Command Council decided at its session on March 26, 1974, the promulgation of Law No. 37 of 1974, for amnesty for Kurdish militarymen and civilians.

ARTICLE ONE:

Kurdish members of the armed forces, in the army, police, security, citizenship and border guards who have joined or will join the nearest military post before or within the currency of this Law shall be exempted from the following penalties:

(A) The penalties provided for in the military laws, in connection with their absence, absenteeism, defection or violation.

(B) The penalties provided for in Articles (116) and (117) of the Military Criminal Code No. 12 of 1940 (amended).

(C) The discharge passed upon them due to their absence, absenteeism or defection.

ARTICLE TWO:

The Kurds shall be exempted from the penalties provided for in the Military Service Law No. 65 of 1969 (amended), and the National Defence and Reserve Service Laws (abrogated), in connection with their violation of the provisions of such laws if they join the nearest military post before or within the currency of this Law.

ARTICLE THREE:

Kurdish employees and workers shall be exempted from all administrative penalties emanating from their illegal absence if they join their positions or the nearest military post during the currency of this Law.

ARTICLE FOUR:

Peasants and prisoners covered by provisions of this Law shall be released immediately if they are not arrested or detained for another reason, and the fines collected from them shall not be refunded.

ARTICLE FIVE:

The currency period of this Law shall be 30 days, effective from the date of its promulgation.

Written in Baghdad on the Day of Rabe' al-Awwal month, 1394 Hejira Calendar, corresponding to the 20th Day of March, 1974.

Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr,
Chairman
Revolutionary Command Council.

DECISION NO. 309
MARCH 26, 1974

Pursuant to Para (B), Article (42) of the Interim Constitution, the Revolutionary Command Council decided at its session on March 26, 1974, the following:

1) The Arabic language shall be the language of official correspondence between the central authority or its representatives and the autonomous bodies, and also in all the contracts and formalities in which the central authority constitutes a party.

2) The Arabic language, or the Kurdish language in the current manuscript, shall be the language of documentation, correspondence and other formalities within the area.

3) The autonomous bodies' resolutions shall be declared in the Kurdish and Arabic languages.

4) Any citizen may use the Arabic language or the Kurdish language in his official formalities and work.

5) Trials before the courts of justice exercising legal powers within the area shall be held either in the Arabic language or the Kurdish language, as decided upon by the court magistrate, who may also decide to hold the trial in any other local language, and the court of justice shall take all the necessary measures in that connection.

6-- Rulings shall be passed either in Arabic or Kurdish.

6) RCC decision No. 304 of April 5, 1972 shall be applied.

7) This decision shall become effective as from the date of its publication in the Official Gazette.

Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr,
Chairman
Revolutionary Command Council

DECISION NO. 310
MARCH 26, 1974

Pursuant to Para (A), Article (42) of the Interim Constitution, the Revolutionary Command Council decided at its session on March 26, 1974, the following:

A) In the autonomous area, an appeal department entitled "The Kurdistan Appeal Department", shall be established with Arbil being its headquarters.

2) This decision shall become effective as from the date of its publication in the Official Gazette.

Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr,
Chairman
Revolutionary Command Council

DECISION NO. 311
MARCH 26, 1974

Pursuant to Para (A), Article (42) of the Interim Constitution, the Revolutionary Command Council decided at its session on March 26, 1974, the following:

1) Schools may be established for the Kurds residing outside the autonomous area in accordance with the principles and rules drawn up by the Ministry of Education.

2) This decision shall become effective as from the date of its publication in the Official Gazette.

Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr,
Chairman
Revolutionary Command Council

(Continued from page 1)

RESOLUTION No. 301

OF MARCH 26, 1974

Pursuant to Para (A) Article (42) of the Interim Constitution, the Revolutionary Command Council decided, in the name of the people, at its session on March 26, 1974, the promulgation of the following law

**No. 36 OF 1974
LAW FOR THE LEGISLATIVE
COUNCIL FOR THE
KURDISTAN AREA**

**PART ONE
FORMATION OF THE
LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL**

ARTICLE ONE:

A) The Legislative Council shall consist of 80 members to be selected by the direct free poll, in accordance with the Legislative Council Election Law.

B) The Council's member shall represent all the inhabitants of the area.

ARTICLE TWO:

He who shall become member of the Council shall satisfy the following conditions:

A) He shall be Iraqi by birth, born to two Iraqi parents by birth.

B) He shall have completed (25) calendar years of age.

C) He shall enjoy full civil and political rights.

D) He shall be literate in the Kurdish or Arabic language.

ARTICLE THREE

A) Combination is not permitted between the Legislative Council and the National Assembly memberships, nor between them and that of commercial companies' boards, state organisations, state bodies or civil service posts.

B) The Council member is not permitted to conclude contracts,

permanently or through mediation, with the state, autonomous bodies or public juridical personalities, in the capacity of undertaker or contractor, and is not permitted to purchase any of the state property or those of the autonomous bodies, nor shall he sell them any of his property.

ARTICLE FOUR:

Membership in the Council shall be abrogated in the following cases:

(A) Termination or dissolution of the Council.

(B) Resignation of the member which shall be considered effective as from the date of its acceptance by the majority vote of the Council.

(C) Nullification of one of the conditions specified in Article (1) hereof, and the Council shall decide upon the same by the majority vote of its members.

ARTICLE FIVE:

The Council member shall be sworn in at a public session, prior to his commencement, in the following manner:

"I swear by the Almighty, my honour and my doctrine to safeguard the Republican Regime and sincerely abide by its principles, constitution and laws, and perseverently act to safeguard the safety and territorial integrity of the Republic of Iraq".

ARTICLE SIX:

(A) The Council members shall not be held responsible for the opinions they voice during their exercise of their obligations in accordance with the Council's internal regulations.

(B) During the Council's session, no punitive sanctions shall be taken against any Council member, nor shall any be arrested without permission by the Council, except when he is held indulged in an offensive act.

PART TWO

**LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
ACTIVITY**

ARTICLE SEVEN:

A) Term of office in the Council shall be ten years, beginning from the date of its first meeting and ending by the convention of its last meeting in the third year of its currency.

(B) The regular session of the Council shall begin on the first Saturday of October and continue throughout nine months.

(C) The Council shall hold the first meeting within the regular session under the Law and under the chairmanship of the eldest member, and within this session the Council's chairman, vice-chairman and secretary shall be elected by secret poll.

(D) The Executive Council chairman, or one quarter of the Legislative Council members may convene the Council in an extraordinary session, and such meeting shall be exclusively devoted to the consideration of subjects specified in the convention invitation.

(E) Legislative Council sessions shall be public.

ARTICLE EIGHT:

(A) The Executive Council or ten of the Legislative Council's members may propose the legislative resolutions, and the Council shall not discuss the draft resolution before it is considered by a specialised committee, and each proposal rejected by the Council shall not be re-submitted within the same session.

(B) The executive Council chairman shall promulgate legislative resolutions within ten days of his receiving them, and the Legislative Council shall not be requested, within this period, to re-consider the draft resolution or any of its items. Should the Council confirm its decision by the same majority vote, the resolution shall be final and binding.

(C) Legislative resolutions shall be published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Iraq and become effective as from the date of their publication.

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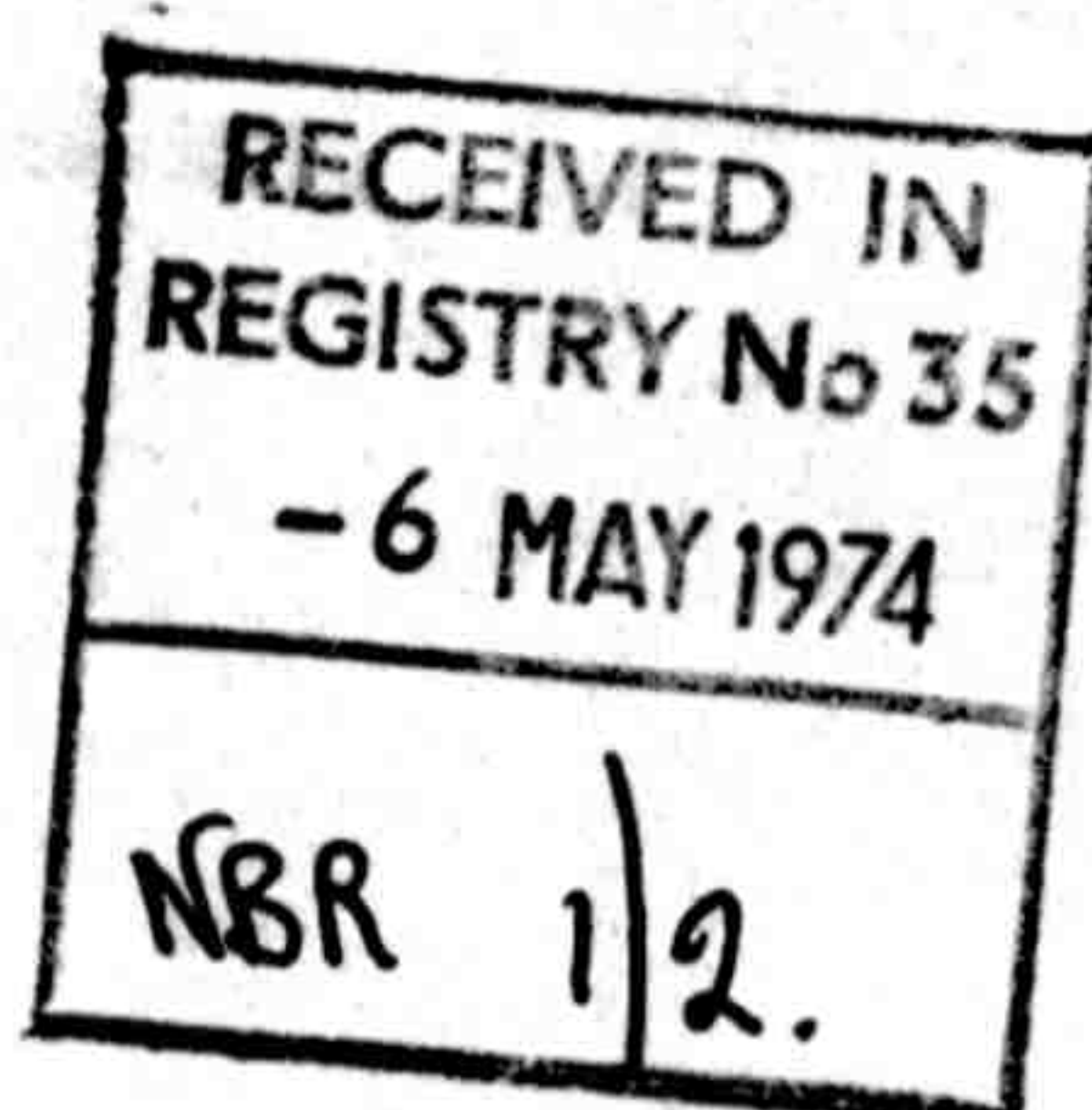
14



British Embassy,
Baghdad

29 April 1974

G S Burton Esq.,
Middle East Dept.,
FCO, London.



Ab 4/5

Dear Graham,

IRAQ/KURDS

The Iraq Government announced 25 April that the amnesty for Kurds returning to their normal place of work would be extended until 25 May (Law 56 of 1974). Announcing this to 'an enlarged meeting of the Progressive National Front' Vice President Saadam Hussein called on Mustapha Barazani and his faction to raise the white flag and live as ordinary citizens.

2. One of Barazanis sons, Oubaidallah Mustapha published 26 April an address to the Kurdish people, in which he said that in spite of family connections he had rejected the "twisted road of error, deviation, and oppression. The family should be the servants of the Kurdish people, not a tyrannical faction tied to the schemings of foreigners and imperialists". He accuses America and the ruling re-actionary elements in Iran and Israel of being enemies of the Kurds.

3. It is rumoured in Baghdad that a group of Kurds have been executed here and that the Kurds have similarly executed as a reprisal an equal number of Iraqi soldiers.

4. My German colleague tells me that the Turks believe some of the arms which the Kurds are using are of British origin, and there is therefore suspicion that Britain is supplying the Kurds through Iran.

Yours ever
Ian

I. McCluney

c.c. Tehran
Ankara

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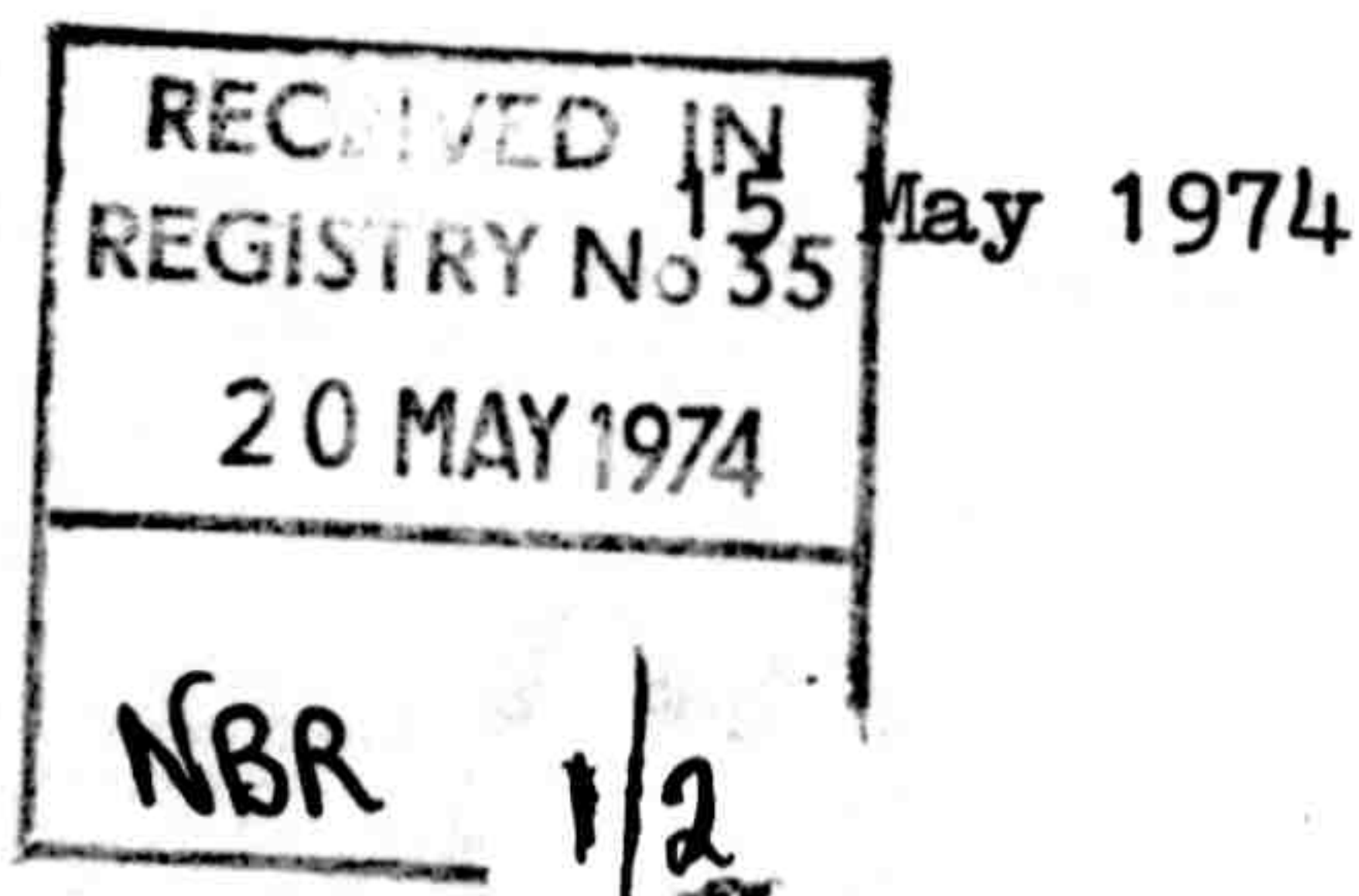
15



BRITISH EMBASSY

MOSCOW

G S Burton Esq
MED
FCO
LONDON



Enter 260 5.
23.5.74
250 16/5

Dear Burton

IRAQ/USSR: THE KURDS

1. I am enclosing a full translation of a Pravda article on 14 May on the Kurdish problem, and I recommend that you glance through it as the longest and most authoritative Soviet comment so far. Its "message" is largely the same as the article on 26 April reported in my letter of that date - support for the central government, condemnation of the divisive activities of "rightist" circles in the Kurdish movement and the imputation that they are receiving assistance from outside. We are given considerably more detail than before of the content of the decree on autonomy, and there is an attempt to put the whole into some sort of historical perspective in order to emphasise the degree to which the "rightist" elements are working against the desired aims of "progressive" elements in Iraq as a whole. Notable points are (a) the references to outside "imperialist" help are left vague; (b) that it is the Kurdish leadership as a whole (most of whom, Pravda points out, opposed the autonomy offer) which is leading the movement astray despite the denunciations of many Kurds.

2. The early weeks of the Kurdish resistance to the autonomy offer were marked, as you may recall, by silence in the Soviet press. Given the evident strength of the resistance among the Kurds, the Soviets clearly thought long and hard before publicly condemning their activities, even though there seems little doubt about the priority they must instinctively have attached to nursing their relations with the Iraqi government. By the end of April they had evidently decided that their equivocal silence had lasted as long as was prudently possible.

Handwritten signature

R B Bone

Handwritten signature

cc:

Chancery, BAGHDAD

CONFIDENTIAL

ARMED CONFLICT IN NORTH IRAQ

P. Nadezhdin

Alarming news is coming from Iraq these days. It is reported that armed clashes have been taking place in the north of the country between army units and Kurdish detachments which are retreating farther and farther into the mountainous area.

The resumption of hostilities in the Kurdish mountains cannot but cause anxiety, all the more so since it came as a surprise to many: both abroad and in Iraq itself, an impression has of late been created that the Kurdish problem is nearing its settlement against a background of the overall democratisation of political life in the country. This impression was based on real facts which made one optimistic over the developments.

Of course, the solution of the national question in Iraq is no easy matter, especially if one takes into account the fact that the matter here concerns an old wound, a conflict of long standing. And the measures that had been taken by the authorities towards overcoming it appeared all the more convincing.

It is to be recalled that British imperialism which held its sway in the area between the Tigris and the Euphrates after World War I, saw in the fanning of Arab-Kurdish animosity an important means of preserving its positions in Iraq. However, even after the colonialists had been driven away and the monarchy had been overthrown in Baghdad, the republican government did not succeed in solving the Kurdish problem.

In the autumn of 1961, military operations against the Kurdish forces of liberation led by the ~~Kurdish Democratic Party~~ (KDP) were launched in the country's northern districts. This fratricidal war instigated by chauvinistic quarters and the oil monopolies operating in Iraq was terminated after the present leadership of the Arab Socialist Awakening Party (Baath) came to power in Baghdad.

A manifesto was promulgated in March 1970, announcing the complete termination of hostilities in Kurdistan and respect for the basic national rights of the Iraqi Kurds, for which they had fought arms in hands. It was also announced that in four years' time the two million strong Kurdish population would be granted autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi state.

The changed attitude to the Kurdish problem was manifest in the various spheres of life in Iraq -- in the political, cultural, economic and educational fields. After the many years of estrangement, relations began to develop between the central authorities and the Kurdish leaders. Five Kurds were given ministerial portfolios, and Kurds were appointed as governors in the country's four northern provinces. Funds were allocated from the budget for making good the devastation caused by the hostilities, for restoring villages, roads, bridges, schools, for building homes for the invalids. The farmers were assisted with seeds and fertilizers so as to help expedite people's return to peaceful labour. A Kurdish university was founded, and chairs of the Kurdish language and literature were established in Baghdad University.

The laws passed in Iraq on the extension of political freedoms affected the Kurds, too: the KDP opened its branches in the country's major cities, and its central organ -- the newspaper Al-Taahi (Brotherhood) -- began to be published in Baghdad. The democratisation of political life in Iraq became an important guarantee of both the general progressive transformations in the country and the national rights of its Kurdish population. In the opinion of Iraqi progressives, the continuation of the process of democratisation meets the interests of the entire people, and the solution of the Kurdish problem forms part of the struggle for democracy.

The National Progressive Front set up last year is to play an important part in this respect. It was formed by the ruling Baath Party, the Communist Party, independent democrats and progressive nationalists. The KDP was also invited to join the Front, but it turned down this invitation under the pretext that Baghdad had not allegedly implemented all the provisions of the March Manifesto, on which the sides had differences.

Differences on these issues flared up also during the preparation of a law on granting autonomy to the Kurdish area in Iraq. Some Kurdish leaders demanded, for instance, an inclusion in this area of Kirkuk where an oil deposit, one of the richest in the Middle East, is situated. This demand was not accepted by the government.

The law on autonomy published on March 11 this year, proclaimed Iraqi Kurdistan a separate administrative entity within the Iraqi Republic. The Kurdish and Arabic languages were declared official languages in the autonomous area. The organs of government in the area are to consist of an elected legislative council and executive committee whose chairman is appointed by the president out of members of the legislative council. The Kurdish area is to have its own budget which will be a part of the republican budget.

The law on autonomy was met with great approval both by Arab and Kurdish circles of Iraq. Aziz Sharif, general secretary of the National Council of Peace and Solidarity of Iraq, called the law an "important national achievement". Aziz Akraui, member of the KDP political bureau, also spoke in favour of the law. However, most leaders of the party took a different position.

It seemed that differences on separate clauses of the law, which arose between the government and Kurdish leaders, would be settled through negotiations. Baghdad even declared that outstanding provisions and particulars could be agreed upon within 15 days. But then something unexpected happened: the paper Al-Taahid stopped its publication, Kurdish ministers and many high-ranking officials left Baghdad. They headed for mountains where even after 1970 the KDP main headquarters remained and Kurdish armed detachments were preserved. The 15 days fixed by Baghdad for settling differences, passed, and the atmosphere around the Kurdish question started getting electrified.

When assessing these events one should keep in mind the general development of the situation in Iraq in the past few years. The present leadership in Baghdad, relying on progressive forces, pursues an anti-imperialist course in its foreign policy and carries out social changes in the interests of working people inside the country. An agrarian reform, labour law, nationalisation of the international Iraq Petroleum Co., development of national industry and modernisation of agriculture take an important place among the measures carried out by the government.

As for the Kurdish movement, its class and political heterogeneous nature became apparent of late, especially after the promulgation of the March Manifesto of 1970. Overt and covert differences inside the KDP have become evident, and the left wing of the movement favouring stronger ties with the country's progressive forces and the spreading to Kurdistan of social reforms, carried out in the country, has shaped up. At the same time rightist circles representing feudal and tribal aristocracy, have become active. They are not at all interested in strengthening ties with Iraqi progressive forces and in implementing reforms in the interests of the toiling masses of the population, for instance, of the agrarian law providing for the abolition of big landed property. These circles, according to reports coming in from Iraq, seek support from imperialist and local reactionary forces who try to weaken the existing regime in Baghdad. At the end of the last year Kurdish reactionary elements tried to launch an anti-communist campaign in Kurdistan and engineered attacks on Kurdish Communists.

- 4 -

Both the position of the Right-wing groupings and outside interference influenced the KDP leadership. It decided to vote down the law on the autonomy and then took dangerous actions. The decision was not appreciated and was even denounced by many Kurds. Thus, the KDP branch in Erbil, Kurdistan's second major city, declared its support for the law on the autonomy. The same stand was taken by the new editorial board of the newspaper Al-Taahi, the publication of which was resumed. A group of prominent KDP functionaries stated its refusal to submit to the leadership of the Party and is actively cooperating with the government.

The Right-wing of the KDP, says Tarik al-Shaab, the Iraqi Communists' paper, directs the Kurdish national movement along a dangerous, slippery path. Implementation of the autonomy within the framework of a democratic republic is the most realistic form of solving the Kurdish problem, the paper adds. As concerns the imperialist circles, their aim is to eliminate the national regime in Iraq, re-establish control over oil and revive their influence in the Middle East. Imperialism, Tarik al-Shaab concludes, strives to use the Kurdish armed movement as a temporary instrument for achieving its objectives, then this movement will be buried in oblivion and done away with.

There is no doubt, whatsoever, that the actions of the reactionary extremist elements who, backed from abroad, are kindling the armed conflict in Northern Iraq, are a threat to the unity of the country and the social progress of both Arabs and Kurds. Internecine dissension, conflicts and discords, as historical experience confirms, merely complicate the Kurdish problem; they may eliminate the progress achieved in solving this problem and inflict damage on the democratic order of things in the country.

Reports coming in from Baghdad show that in the complicated situation in Iraq the leadership of the country, its progressive circles, including the progressive circles in the Kurdish movement, are striving to prevent bloodshed. They are coming out for a peaceful and democratic settlement of the Kurdish problem on the basis of the law on granting the autonomy, which meets the national interests of the Iraqi people as a whole.

(Pravda, May 14. In full.)

The Rt. Hon. Sir Alec Douglas-Home, K.T., M.P.

16



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

17

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35
22 MAY 1974
NBR 1/2.

Mr Young.

Mr A. D. Harris.

The address seems
to be Riyadh. Would you
care to have a look at this?

Could you possibly let me have a rough
idea what this letter is all about?!

QSA

11v

David Holt in the Private Office suggested
that I send it direct to you. I would be
grateful for your help.

pe

Angela Bowlby
PRIVATE SECRETARY

30 April, 1974.

Mr Harris
Middle East Department

Mr Fulton should see.

You may care to convey the gist of this to Sir Alec's secretary

ADMs 14/5

1. You asked me if I would look at the Arabic letter to Sir A Douglas-Home for you.
2. The writer's general thesis is that the concept of a separate Kurdish State in northern Iraq and in the neighbouring areas of Turkey and Iran has been sedulously fostered by international Jewry since they first thought it up during the period when HMG were in a position to dictate political developments in Iraq. They were able to promote the concept because Jews held positions of authority in the UK during the period of Labour administration after the Second World War. International Jewry has also been able to infiltrate the Iraqi Baath Party which has embarked upon its present policy of autonomy for the Kurds under the influence of the Jews. The whole thing is a cunning Russian ploy aimed at eventual Russian domination of northern Iraq through the Kurds. This is not in the interests of the Iraqi people nor of those with commercial and other interests in the area, such as HMG. The Jews have been mistaken in thinking that by promoting a separate Kurdish State in northern Iraq, they will be able to take the area over; the Kurds are extremely anti-Jewish and are likely to move into the Russian sphere of influence.
3. The writer urges Sir Alec to continue in the service of his country and of mankind by frustrating the Russians and the Kurds.
4. The writer's name and address are:

Yaqdhan Muhammad
al Aml Grocery
Behind al Sahil Club
al Ribadhi
Sha'aibah
Kuwait

[Signature]

J P Bannerman
Middle East Section
Research Department

14 May 1974

Mr Harris

I telephoned Miss Bootby who expressed her disappointment at the identity of the caller and said that both she and Sir Alec would be happier if the information required were to come from the lips of yourself.

P. J. 22/5



Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AL

Telephone 01- 930-8440

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35

22 MAY 1974

Miss Angela Bowlby
Private Secretary to
Sir Alec Douglas-Home, KT MP
House of Commons
LONDON SW1A 0AA

Your reference

Our reference

Date 20 May 1974

NBR 1/2.

Dear Miss Bowlby,

28/5
1/2

Following our telephone conversation this morning, I enclose the Arabic letter which was sent from Kuwait to Sir Alec Douglas-Home. We have had a look at this long-winded message and it alleges that the concept of a separate Kurdish state in northern Iraq, and in the neighbouring areas of Turkey and Iran, was originally put forward by the Jews in the days when HMG were controlling Iraq. Not only were the Jews able to bring great influence to bear on the post-war Labour Government, but they also infiltrated the Iraqi Ba'ath movement. Behind the whole scheme stand the Russians who aim to dominate northern Iraq by means of the Kurds. This is neither in the interest of the states in the region or of HMG.

There is much more in this vein, but I imagine that you will have seen enough. In conclusion the writer urges Sir Alec to continue in the service of his country and of mankind by frustrating the Russians and the Kurds.

The writer's name and address are:

Yaqdhan Muhammad
Al-Aml Grocery
Behind al-Sahil Club
Al-Ribadhi
Sha'aibah
Kuwait.

I leave it to you to decide whether or not to send an acknowledgement. If you do, you may get another five sides in reply!

Yours sincerely,

Tony Harris.

A D Harris
Middle East Department

1/2
28/5
20/5



British Embassy
Baghdad

21 May 1974

Ref: 1/2

G.S. Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London SW1.



Dear Graham,
IRAQ - KURDS

In a long series of articles in Al Thawra denouncing Barazani, the Kurdish leader, as an imperialist stooge who is doing dis-service to his people by leading them in revolution, there has been some reference to Iran's role in supporting him.

2. I enclose a cutting setting out that criticism in detail. The basic theme is that the Shah has his own problems with minorities and might be better employed turning his attention to them, leaving Iraq to deal with hers in her own way.

Yours ever,

Ian

I. McCluney

Encs.

c.c. Chancery Tehran

AL THAWRA - 9 MAY 1974

The Shah of Iran, who is supplying Barzani and his faction with arms and funds should be told that he had better pay attention to the conditions of his own country and work for the settlement of its national problems by the same democratic, peaceful and tolerant way with which Iraq treated the Kurdish issue. The population of Iran consists, as the Shah undoubtedly knows, of five different nationalities: Persians, Baluchistanis, Azerbaijanis, Kurds and Arabs (the latter populating Arabistan on the banks of Shatt al-Arab and the coast of the Arab Gulf where the rich oil resources are located. All these nationalities including the Persians are victims of oppression, backwardness and misery. The Persian nationality to which the Shah belongs and in whose name he rides roughshod over the Iranian peoples and denies all other communities their rights to citizenship, comprises not more than 40 per cent of the population. As the saying goes: "a person with a glass house must not throw stones at people."

Those who are conceiving of the idea of harming Iraq and its powerful revolution had better realize that their new attempt, which took the form of the insurrection of Barzani, will face the same doom as their former ones. The "revolution" will prove far stronger and more dangerous than "the action" which they contrived.

BRITISH EMBASSY

BEIRUT

25 May 1974



RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35 - 3 JUN 1974 NBR 1/2.

1/8

Mrs P A E Long
NENAD

Den Parisia,

*Mr Bury 3/6
MEN
3/5*

On 21 May Al Anwar reported that a pro-Barzani Kurdish sabotage network had been uncovered and five of its members arrested by the Security authorities in the Erbil government of North Iraq. Those arrested are reported to have been instructed to infiltrate anti-Barzani groups and to assassinate their leaders, as well as to sabotage oil installations in Erbil, and blow up the HQ of the Kurdish Revolutionary party there.

2. The article said that the weapons seized included time bombs, molotov cocktails, three machine guns, three pistols and a hand grenade.

John W. G.
Amiri

F Gallagher

c.c. Baghdad

BBC

(20)

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
PO BOX 76 BUSH HOUSE STRAND LONDON WC2B 4PH
TELEPHONE 01-240 3456 CABLES: BROADBRIT LONDONPS4
TELEGRAMS: BROADBRIT LONDON TELEX TELEX: 22182

23rd May 1974

Dear Gohm,

(40)

① NBR 3/28/4 with 2nd original
revised 2nd original
28/5/74

Now see (21)
28/7/74
pa

Many thanks for your letter of 21st May and for passing on McCluney's account of his conversation with Shadil Taqa. It might have been worth pointing out to Taqa that Arabic Service bulletins and World Service bulletins and indeed all vernacular bulletins are prepared by exactly the same department in order - among other reasons - to obviate any danger that the same story might be treated differently by different departments.

As to his other suggestion I find it ludicrous to imagine that BBC Arabs should be more pro-Kurdish than any other Arabs. I see I do not have to react on the question of control: your exclamation mark is eloquent enough.

Yours ever,

(Chute)

(C.J. McLelland)
Head of Arabic Service

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No. 56
29 MAY 1974
PB 115/505/2

Mr. J.H.A. Emck,
Guidance and Information Policy
Department,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

LAST REF.	(40)
NEXT REF.	

SW



Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1

Telephone 01-

(21)

I McCluney Esq
BAGHDAD

Your reference

Our reference

PBM5/505/2

Date

31 May 1974	
RECEIVED IN	
REGISTRY NO 35	
- 3 JUN 1974	
NBR	1/2.

453/6
pa

BBC ARABIC SERVICE

① NBR 3/28/4.

1. Graham Burton of MED passed me a copy of your letter 1/1 of 5 May which included in para 5 Shadhil Taqa's comments on the BBC Arabic Service and the Kurdish question.

2. I passed the relevant extract to Charles McLelland, who has commented; I enclose a copy of his letter. The exclamation mark to which he refers was in fact yours!

J H A Emck
Guidance and Information
Policy Department

Enc

cc: Mr Burton,
MED

CONFIDENTIAL



RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35

12 JUN 1974

NBR 1/2

British Embassy
Baghdad

8 June 1974

G.S. Burton Esq.,
Middle East Department,
Foreign & Commonwealth Office,
London SW1.

Dear Graham,

THE KURDISH PROBLEM

*Copy with enclosure to
Cabinet Office
Mr Clark - may need to see
Cabinet Office
At Col Mackay - D14
Enter
12/6
12/6
12/6*

You may be interested in the enclosed cutting from the Baghdad observer of 27 May, in which a certain Adnan Badr makes some attempt to pinpoint the real differences between the Barazani 'faction' and the central authorities as he sees them.

2. I think the meat of his article is contained in the last section headed "Nature of Existing Problem". Here he points out that the Kurdish Democratic Party have insisted throughout on the inclusion of Kirkuk within the Kurdish area. Badr believes that, although Autonomy can be given to any area showing a Kurdish majority, this majority should be defined on the basis of the normal situation existing before the outbreak of hostilities, i.e. on the basis of the 1957 census. In any case, he says, Kirkuk never had a Kurdish majority before or during hostilities, and has not one now. Despite this the Progressive National and Nationalist Front (PNNF) have offered Kirkuk a "sort of centrally connected local rule" - but this the KDP have rejected.

3. There is also, Badr points out, a budgetary bone to pick between the two sides. The KDP demands a budget to each area (of Iraq) proportional to its population. Any central budget distributed in this way would mean that the Government in Baghdad dealt only with the budget for Baghdad liwa, a ridiculous situation. He suggests that the proposed local budget for the Kurdish area will be easily sufficient for the new Legislative and Executive Councils, given that they also command some priority in the Development Budget.

4. Badr goes on to enumerate some "undeclared" reasons why the Kurds are being difficult. The KDP rightist faction (e.g. Barazani) find their political control threatened by the new Autonomy Law and would feel further threatened even if they did separate from Iraq, by the existing "progressive" forces in the area which do not favour KDP rule. To obtain real control they must eliminate

/these.....

RESTRICTED



these also. In order to do this and bring the central government to its knees, the KDP have sought help from foreigners. Badr adds darkly that there is more than one foreign quarter which has an interest in renewed fighting in Kurdistan.

Yours ever,

Ian

I. McCluney

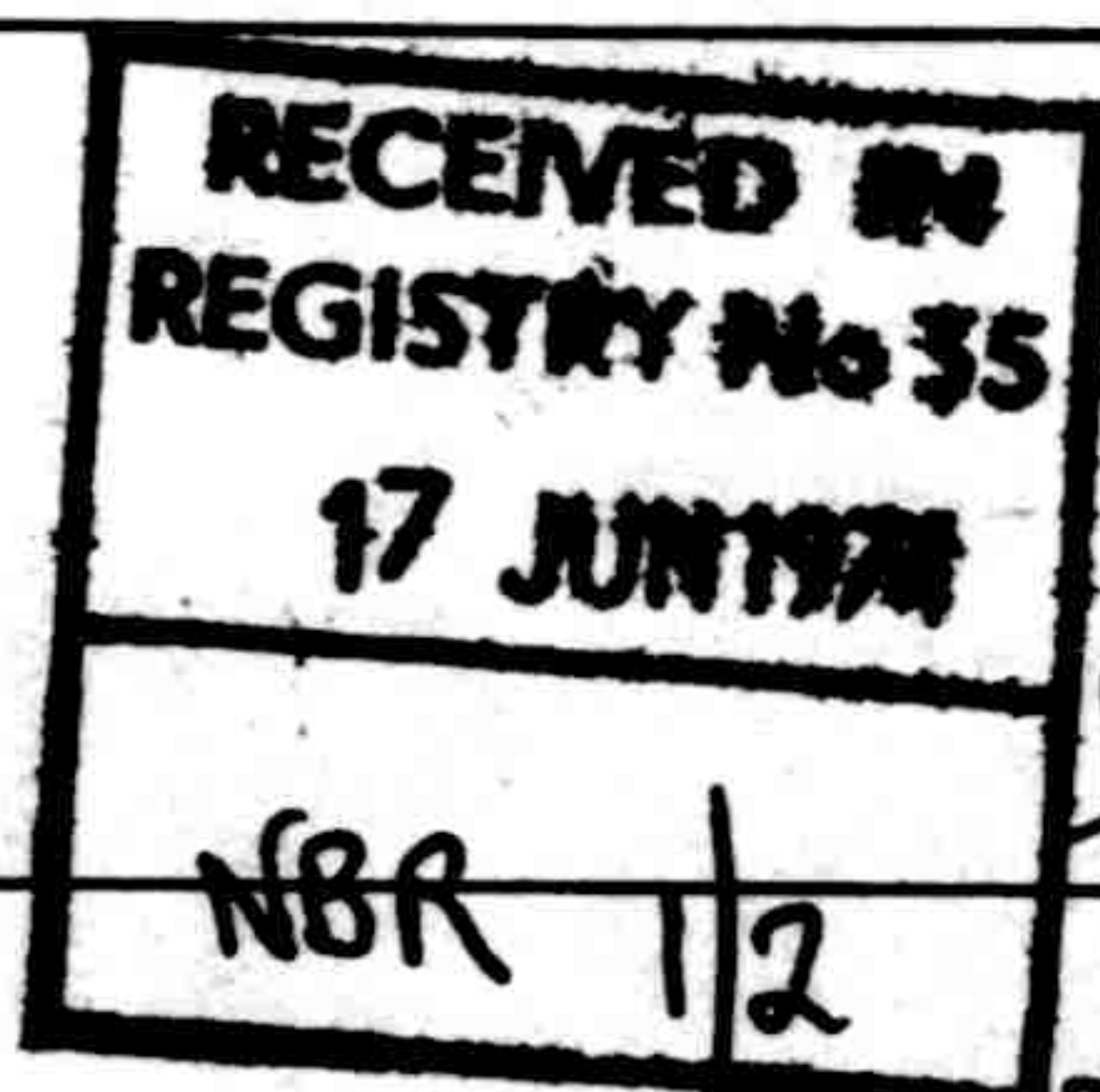


British Embassy
Tehran

SECRET

Copy to Wing Genl J Davies, Cabinet Office
POSD
Research Dept. (23)
Mr. Wright
Mr. Williams
Mr. Butcher
This is interesting and

T J Clark Esq
MED
FCO



deals out on thinking. I wonder if the Iraqi regime ed us
Your reference
Our reference
Date
13 June 1974

fall over
the Kurds in spite of \$4.
Enter.

Dear Terry.

IRAN AND THE KURDS

1. When the Ambassador saw the Shah on 30 May they discussed the Kurdish situation.
2. The Shah said that as many as 26,400 Kurds had taken refuge in Iran following Iraqi bombing of their villages. He did not believe that the Iraqis had the military power to occupy the mountainous areas of Kurdistan but he was worried about the plight of the Kurds when winter came, if Iraqi bombing continued at its present rate.
3. When the Ambassador asked the Shah if he thought that the recent Security Council resolution might lead to a rapprochement between Iraq and Iran he replied unhesitatingly that he could not let down the Kurds. For one thing it would be wrong in principle. Furthermore he needed to keep the Kurdish situation alive as a lever against the Iraqi government which he could employ at any time. He was, therefore, continuing to supply the Kurds with large quantities of arms and equipment.
4. It is interesting that the Shah should have appeared so uncompromising in his support for the Kurds. We had been inclined to think that he would be willing to abandon them to their fate if he calculated that there was a chance of a genuine accommodation with the government in Baghdad. I suspect that he is resigned to there being no present prospect of any Iraqi Government he can trust and therefore cannot envisage a situation when the Kurds would not be a potential political asset. Incidentally, the Shah agreed with the Ambassador that it was futile to try to use the Kurds to overthrow the Iraqi regime. This could only be done from within Baghdad itself. Unfortunately this was difficult.

Yours are
H J Arbutnott

cc: Chanceries:
Baghdad
Kuwait
Washington
Moscow

SECRET



United Kingdom Mission to the United Nations
845 Third Avenue New York NY 10022

24

G S Burton Esq
Middle East Dept
FCO

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35 19 JUN 1974 NBR 1/2.
--

Your reference

Our reference 18/44/8

Date

17 June 1974

Dear Lahan

*Copy
PAF 19/6*

*Wing Cmdr Davies - Cdr
Ent D/V 19/6
MSB pa*

KURDISTAN

1. You may like to see the enclosed copies of letters from Barzani and Abdul Rahman of the Kurdistan Democratic Party to the Secretary-General which were sent to us under cover of a note to the ambassador (also enclosed) concerning "violation of human rights in Kurdistan". (I am not sending copies of the enclosure to the letter which runs to about 100 pages but please let me know if you wish to see it). I rather doubt if anything more will come of this approach, though it is just possible that it could come up again in the Human Rights context.

*Yours ever
C C R Battiscombe*

C C R Battiscombe

c.c. Chanceries:

Baghdad
Tehran

May 28, 1974

Your Excellency,

My dear Dr. Kurt Waldheim :

The tragic situation in which the Kurdish people find themselves once more in, makes it paramount to call world attention to the crimes perpetrated by the Iraqi government against the Kurdish people who are her subjects.

This is the fifth war, successive Iraqi governments wage against Kurdistan within thirteen years. Three of them have been waged by Baathist Party governments. Perhaps it is more proper to say that during these last thirteen years, the Kurdish people have been living under war conditions, interspersed with peace negotiations and truces - however, exploited by the Iraqi governments to collect new strength for resumption of aggression. In exactly that way the Baathist Party government failed to live up to its obligations under the famous Peace Agreement of March 11, 1970, which has, unfortunately, become a dead letter since March 11, 1974, when the Iraqi government resumed the war against the Kurdish people.

Today, when negotiations and peace are prevailing in solving international problems, the hottest war on earth is being fought against the Kurdish people by their own government. Genocide, destruction, hunger, burning of villages and crops are the order of the day for Iraqi Kurdistan. Half the Kurdish people live under the horror of napalm bombs and fear of poisonous gases. The other half lives under State terror.

This state of affairs can not be considered an internal affair of the Iraqi government any longer, when the simple right to life is denied to the Kurdish people. The world can not remain oblivious of the fact of these crimes against human rights; certainly not the United Nations.


We have, therefore, decided to send abroad Mr. M. M. Abdul Rahman, member of the Political Bureau of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and former Minister for Northern Affairs in the Iraqi Government, and Mr. M. Dizayee, member of the Central Committee of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and former Minister of Public Works and Housing in the Iraqi Government, in order to strengthen the work of the Kurdistan Delegation Abroad, and submit to Your Excellency a Communication concerning the war of genocide and the gross violations of human rights in Kurdistan by the Iraqi government.

On behalf of my people, I ask Your Excellency to give this Communication your personal attention and forward it for action to the appropriate bodies of the United Nations.

We want to live in peace and cooperation with the rest of the Iraqi people who are also suffering greatly from government persecution and terror; their sons being also the victims of this savage war in Kurdistan.

Concerning human rights, treatment of prisoners and waging a fight of self-defence, we have already informed the International Committee of the Red Cross of our compliance with the Geneva Convention. We welcome any inspection team or your personal representative. We ask for your good offices to end this war of genocide.

The Kurdish people and I remain gratefully yours


Mustafa Barzani

KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
POLITICAL BUREAU

18/44/7

Kurdish Delegation Abroad

ADDRESS:

619 W 176 Street, Apt. 5K
New York, N. Y. 10033

DATE: June 7, 1974

TEL.:

Your Excellency :

Your country's interest in the cause of peace and justice for all peoples is well known to us.

Permit me to send to your government and for personal attention under separate cover a copy of the Communication we submitted 7th of June to the United Nations, concerning the war of genocide by the Iraqi Government against the Kurdish people.

We hope that you will do what is in your power in the United Nations to end this war and to support the national rights of the Kurdish people.

I remain respectfully yours,

✓ l.h. 11/6,



M.M. Abdul Rahman
Member of the Political Bureau
of the
Kurdistan Democratic Party

KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
POLITICAL BUREAU

Kurdish Delegation Abroad
ADDRESS:

619 W 176 Street, Apt. 5K
New York, N. Y. 10033

DATE: June 6, 1974

TEL:

Your Excellency,

You are again on one of your significant peace missions. The Kurdish people wish you well in your conscientious endeavors for justice and peace, especially while you are currently so close to them in the Middle East. They sincerely hope that you can give some of your time and attention to efforts and considerations of the Kurdish cause - ranking among the foremost just causes in the world today.

Permit us to express our gratitude for the letter (SO 215/1 IRAQ, Division of Human Rights, 3 May 1974) acknowledging receipt of the letter of the Kurdish Delegation Abroad, dated 26 April 1974, and including preliminary Information for you. We appreciate your having taken proper steps to deal with it.

Unfortunately, the fears expressed in that letter have come true. Full scale war has been launched by the Iraqi Government against our people in Kurdistan. The armaments at the disposal of the Iraqi forces are of the most modern type. They are being used mercilessly against our people whose sole defence is their sacrifices for justice, freedom and equality in their beautiful homeland.

Since Mid-April bombing and shelling villages and towns, hanging men and women in the squares of the cities, killing animals and burning crops, starvation and killing civilians en masse have become the order of the day in Kurdistan by a government responsible, by all conventions, for the welfare of those unlucky people.

In this era of self-determination of nations, of independence and of the end of colonialism, our people are asking for the simple right of autonomy within a democratic system of government.

The answer of the Iraqi Government to this demand is a racial and colonial type war with acts of genocide and flagrant violations of Human Rights, committed daily both against the Kurds living in the liberated areas of Kurdistan and those Kurds living in towns and cities under Government control. We must add that the Arab people in Iraq are not happier, because they have also lost their personal liberties and political freedoms under the Ba'th Party Government. The present intentions of that Government, as in the past, are to hide this devastating war from the world and in particular from the United Nations. It intends also to consider the matter solely an internal affair of Iraq. But genocide and gross violations of the human rights of the Kurdish people are becoming well known throughout the world. These can in no way be treated as purely internal matters.

We are aware and indeed happy to know that the United Nations has concerned itself with violations of human rights, which were of smaller magnitude, in other countries before. Therefore, our submitting an official Communication concerning genocide and gross violations of human rights, pursued systematically for over a decade by the Iraqi Governments against the Kurdish people, which form a minority in Iraq, is more urgent than ever.

./.

KURDISTAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY
POLITICAL BUREAU

ADDRESS:

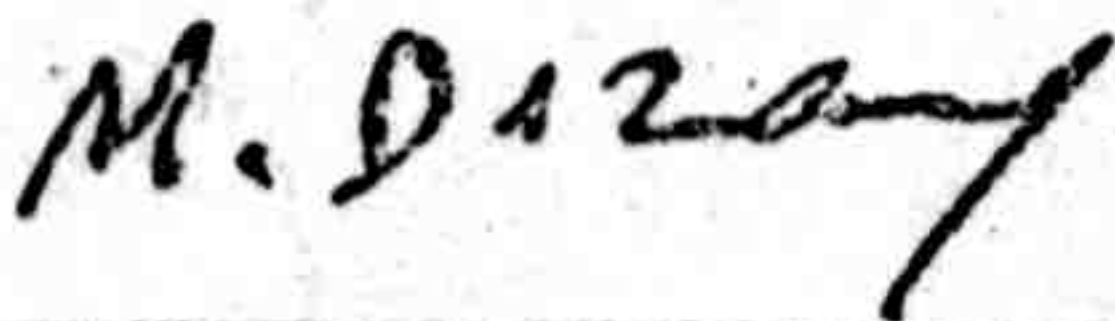
DATE:

TEL:

We are submitting herewith this Communication Concerning Gross Violations of Human Rights in Kurdistan, Iraq which summarizes the sad events in Kurdistan, as envoys of General Mustafa Barzani, President of the Kurdistan Democratic Party and leader of the Kurdish Liberation Movement.

Please accept the covering letter by General Barzani, together with his best personal wishes conveyed through us.

We remain, Sir, respectfully yours,



M. Dizayee
Member of the Central Committee
of
the Kurdistan Democratic Party



M.M. Abdul Rahman
Member of the Political
Bureau of the
Kurdistan Democratic Party

To His Excellency
The Secretary-General
United Nations
New York, N.Y. 10017

LKS NR 925/17

PRIORITY

PP MODUK ARMY

CYPHER

GRS 600

CYPHER CAT A

FM BAGHDAD 170835Z JUNE.

MOD DISTRIBUTION

SECRET

TO PRIORITY MODUK ARMY TEL OF 17 JUNE 1974.

DIG FOH.

FROM SANDERS.

KURDISTAN.

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35 19 JUN 1974 NBR 1/2

1. TURKISH MA VISITED TURKOMANS IN MOSUL DOHUK ZAKHO ERBIL AND KIRKUK 8 - 12 JUNE. HE REPORTED FOLLOWING.

A). AREA UNDER GOVT. CONTROL QUIET. ALL VILLAGES ON RD. MOSUL - DOHUK, DOHUK - MOSUL DESERTED. ZAKHO ENTIRELY POPULATED BY MILITARY AND SEVERELY DAMAGED IN NORTHERN SECTOR. RD. MOSUL - ZAKHO HEAVILY PICKETED AND MANY ARMoured CARS IN EVIDENCE THROUGHOUT.

B). RD. ERBIL KIRKUK ONLY OPEN 0700 TO 1700 DAILY. HE HEARD HEAVY FIRING AT NIGHT TO THE EAST OF ERBIL.

C). LITTLE OTHER INFO OBTAINED BECAUSE OF HIS POOR ENGLISH AND HIS RESTRICTED MOVEMENT. !?

2. TRANSLATOR IN EMBASSY AN ASSYRIAN VISITED HER FAMILY IN MOSUL 12/13 JUNE AND REPORTED FOLLOWING.

A). DOHUK - AMADIA RD CLOSED AND HEAVILY MINED BY KURDS JUST N. OF DOHUK, AIN SIFNI AND AQRA NOW IN GOVT. HANDS ALTHOUGH LATTER HAS BEEN HEAVILY DAMAGED.

B). SHE WAS CLOSELY SEARCHED ON LEAVING MOSUL AS WERE ALL HER PARTY. SEVERAL WOMEN RECENTLY HAVE BEEN CAUGHT SMUGGLING SMALL QUANTITIES OF AMMO UNDER THEIR ABAYAS.

SMALL QUANTITIES OF AMMO UNDER THEIR ABAYAS.

C). NO ONE IS ALLOWED TO TAKE FOOD TO THE NORTH. ALL SUPPLIES OF FOOD AND BASIC ESSENTIALS ARE BROUGHT IN AND SOLD BY GOVT. FRIENDS WHO GOT OUT OF AMADIA BY TRAVELLING CROSS COUNTRY AT NIGHT REPORTED FOOD AND BASIC ESSENTIALS IN VERY SHORT SUPPLY AND EXPENSIVE E.G. 1 KILO SUGAR IN BAGHDAD 0.110 DINAR IN AMADIA ONE DINAR (1000 PERCENT INCREASE) TURKISH SMUGGLERS PROFITEERING ACROSS BORDER.

D). SHEIKH OF ALTRUSH CAPTURED WITH 40 OTHER KURDS AND TAKEN TO BAGHDAD.

E). FURSAN UNITS REFORMED. THESE ARE KURDS PAID BY THE GOVT. TO OPERATE AGAINST KURDS LOYAL TO BARZANI AND TO COLLECT INTELLIGENCE. IN PRACTISE THEY TEND TO PLAY ONE SIDE OF AGAINST THE OTHER AND HAVE BEEN ATTACKING AND PLUNDERING ASSYRIAN VILLAGES.

F). THE GENERAL FEELING OF THE POPULATION IN GOVT. CONTROLLED AREAS IS THAT THIS TIME THE GOVT. REALLY MEANT BUSINESS AND WERE DETERMINED TO FINISH THE PRESENT WAR QUICKLY.

3. DIRECTOR OF ARMY TRAINING SAID FOLLOWING AT QBP 15 JUNE.

ALPHA. HIS AND ALL OTHER MOD DIRECORATES WERE VERY SHORT STAFFED BECAUSE SO MANY OFFICERS HAD BEEN POSTED TO NORTH.

BRAVO. HE WAS NOT KEPT FULLY INFORMED OF SITUATION FOR SECURITY REASONS.

CHARLIE. THE STRATEGY NOW WAS TO SEAL OFF KURDS AND MOUNT ECONOMIC BLOCKADE THEY HAD MOUNTED MANY SPECIAL FORCE OPS WITH HELI BORN TPS IN AN ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE BARZANI. THE 'WILY FOX' ALWAYS ESCAPED, VERY OFTEN THEIR INTELLIGENCE WAS FAULTY BOTH SIDES HAD SUFFERED HEAVY CASUALTIES IN THESE OPS AND MANY OF BARZANI'S LTS. AND TRIBAL CHIEF SUPPORTERS HAD BEEN CAPTURED AND WERE NOW HELD IN 'STALAGS' IN THE NORTH. HE AGREED THEY COULD NOT SOLVE PROBLEM BY MILITARY MEANS.

DELTA. RD. ERBIL - RAWANDUZ IS NOW OPEN.

MCCLUNEY

BT

(25)

CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AL

Telephone 01-

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35 20 JUN 1974 Your reference Our reference NBR 1/2 Date 20 June 1974
--

C C R Battiscombe Esq
UK Mission to the UN
NEW YORK

KURDISTAN

(24)

Handwritten initials and marks

1 Thank you for your letter of 17 June; you were right in thinking that I should not wish to see the 100-page enclosure.

2 I was interested to see the reference in Mulla Mustapha's letter to the Secretary-General to napalm bombs and poisonous gases. The Kurds have in the past expressed fears that the Iraqis would resort to chemical warfare but no reference to such tactics has been made in their copious propaganda during the recent hostilities. I should therefore be grateful if you would let me know of any further references to chemical warfare the Kurdish delegation in New York may make in future.

G S Burton
Middle East Department

cc: I McCluney Esq, Baghdad
N W Browne Esq, Tehran

CONFIDENTIAL



Mrs Rymy. (M.V.D.)

✓ cc Mr P.R.H. Wright. (M.V.D.)

HOME OFFICE
WHITEHALL, SW1A 9AP

26
N. Barker /

A. Burgess /

Mr Mallet

wanted to know if

2 July 1974

you knew of —
for the Cym. (under?)

4/7/74.

ABJ

PH 4/7

Dear Peter,

I mentioned to you that Sir Arthur Drew had asked on behalf of Mr. Gerald Hauser for information regarding the possible admission to this country as students of certain Kurds. When he first put it to me I understood him to say that these Kurds, although resident in Iraq, held Iranian passports (or at any rate papers) as they could not get passports from the Iraqi government).

This is to record that I spoke to Drew last Friday afternoon. I read over to him the Immigration Rules concerning the admission of students and explained that there were other Rules which might affect the admission of a particular person. I went on to say that in the ordinary way our advice in such cases was to advise would be students to apply to the local British Mission for an entry clearance. This was more satisfactory in practice than simply presenting oneself at the port to an immigration officer. In view of the political complications that might affect applications from Kurds, it was more sensible that the matter should be dealt with locally by application for entry ~~certificates~~ ^{documents}. My advice would be that they should apply to the British Embassy "in the country in which they lived". He said that it was likely that they would apply to Teheran. I replied that we could not stop them applying to whatever Embassy they chose, but that I could not involve myself in any dispute that there might be as to their nationality by advising them to go to Teheran unless of course they were resident in Iran. So far as I was concerned, I must say to him "the country in which they lived". He said he understood, and if it turned out that Iraqi Kurds presented themselves in Iran, it would not be because we had advised that. Indeed, he would keep us out of it.

Yours

N.F.

(N. F. CAIRNCROSS)

C. P. Scott Esq., CMG, OBE,
Room 116,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
Curtis Green Building,
SW1.

Minute Sheet No.

Reference.....

10707/5

Minutes and Brief Details of Enclosures

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
-8 JUL 1974

NBR 1/2.

Clas.

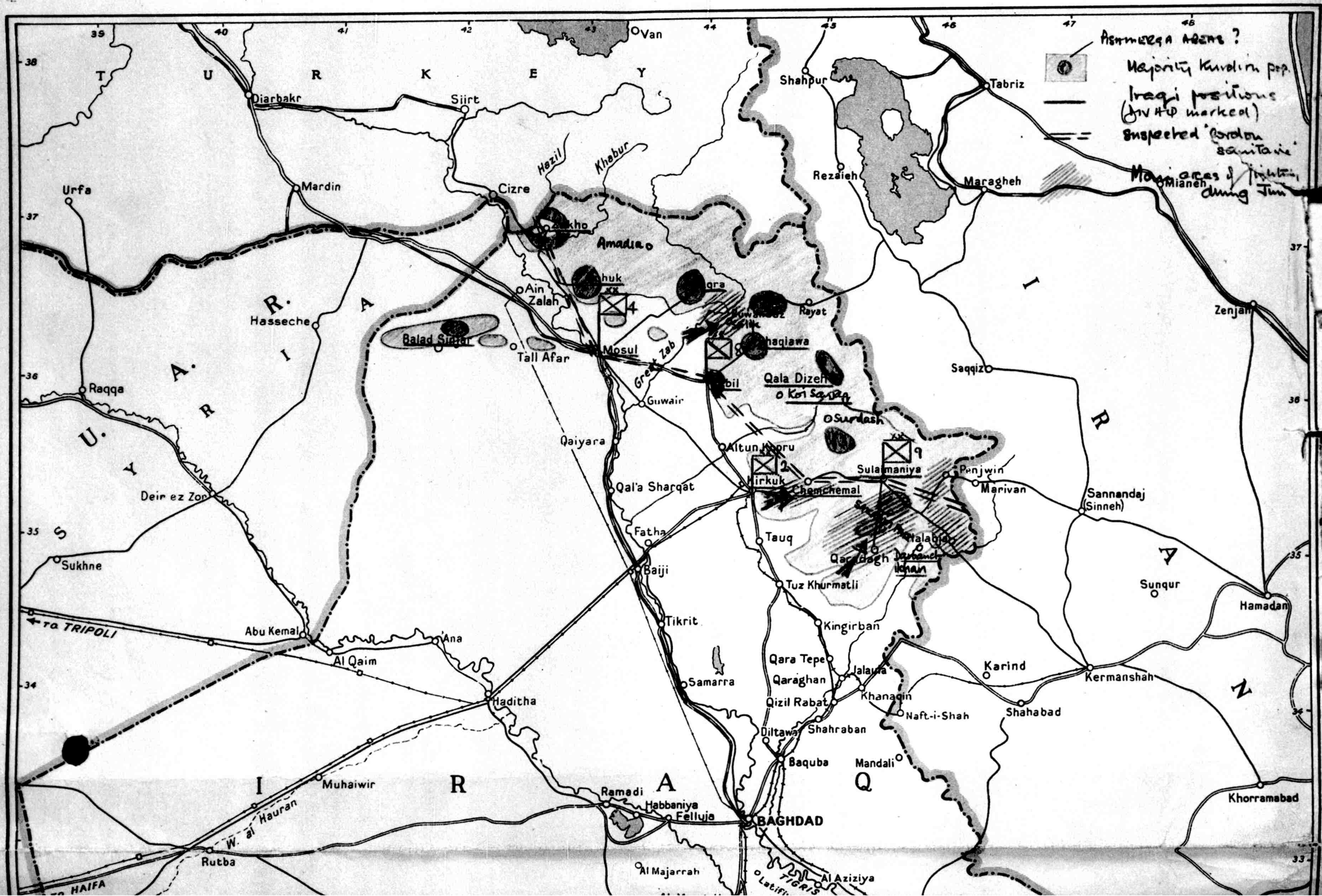
Encl.
No.

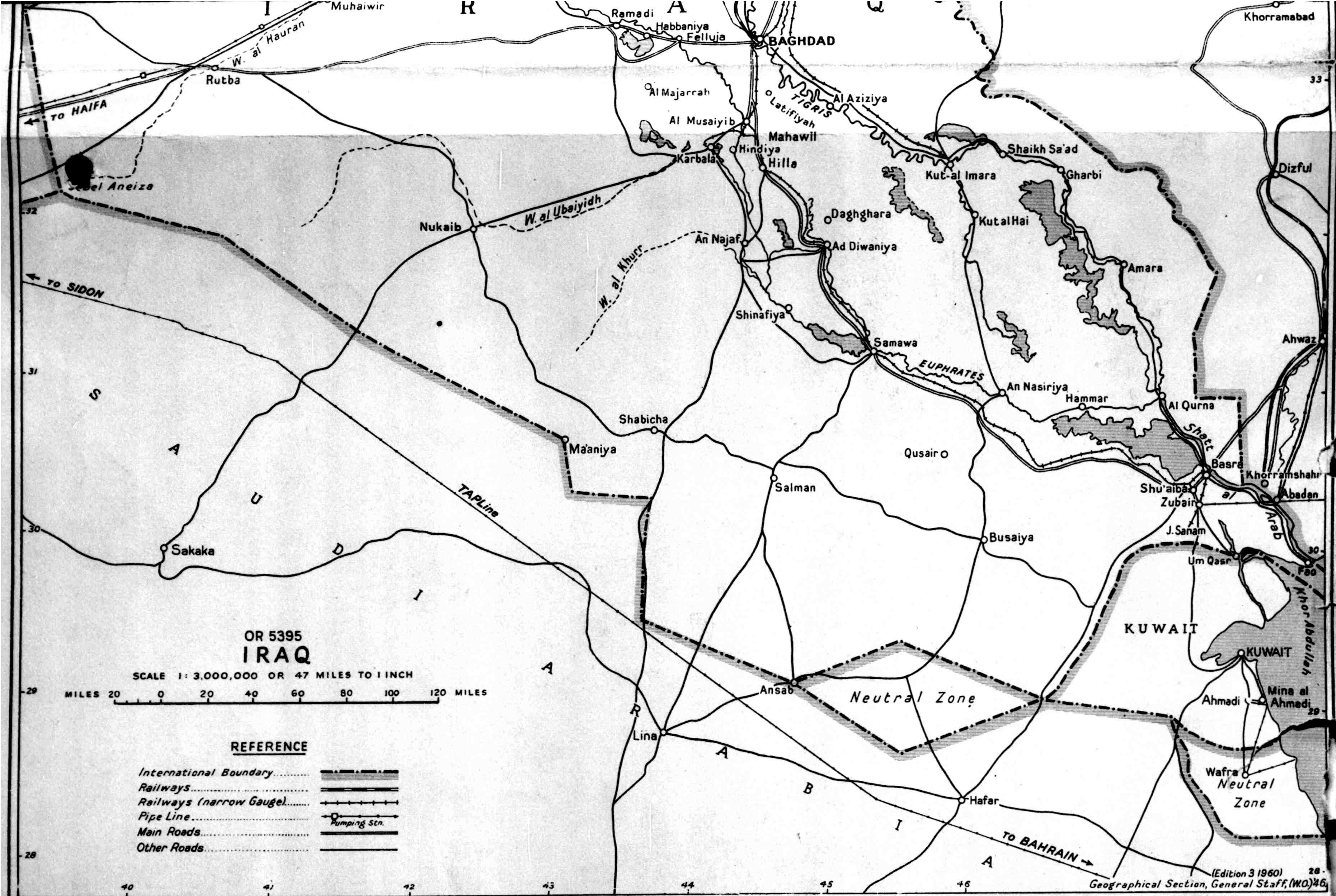
Graham

A quick map as requested!
I have not marked Iraqi disposition
in full but to divisional level only
(otherwise the thing becomes a mess.)
Fish Merge areas are very approximate
- they obviously roam about. Green
line represents "ordon sanitaire" idea which
seems favourite in diplomatic circles of
Baghdad. Although sporadic incidents
and bombing are widespread, most of
the Iraqi effort during June appeared
to be in the southern "lump" which
is the wrong side of the line. By
getting up into Fawstown the Iraqis
 hoped to cut off Fish Merge lines of
communication to Iran. The SPICAN
and Kuwawgaz area is always busy.

James

SECRET





CONFIDENTIAL



Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AL

Telephone 01-

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35 - 9 JUL 1974 Your reference Our reference NBR 1/2 Date 8 July 1974
--

R Giddens Esq
British Embassy
BAGHDAD

KURDISH VISITORS

1 You should know that van Kessenich, First Secretary at the Netherlands Embassy, telephoned Patrick Wright recently to say that he had a report from The Hague of a request by two Kurdish "Ministers" to be received at the Netherlands Foreign Ministry. According to the two "Ministers", they had already been received by the Foreign Ministries in London and Paris. Van Kessenich added that one of the two was called Abdul Rahman.

2 Patrick Wright told van Kessenich for his personal information that we had received an indirect request to see two senior Kurdish personalities about two months ago. We had declined this.

Handwritten signature/initials

G S Burton
Middle East Department

cc: Chancery, Paris
Chancery, The Hague

Silent copy: PUSD

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Williams

Mr. Burton

W 5/7 I think you might just make sure that this had nothing to do with W. Egeston's visitor before action on para 3. We need to follow the "social", informal and 'away from official premises' rule as far as possible.

KURDISH VISITORS

1. Mr van Kessenich, First Secretary at the Netherlands Embassy, telephoned me this afternoon to say that he had a report from The Hague of a request by two Kurdish "Ministers" to be received at the Netherlands Foreign Ministry. According to the two Ministers they had already been received by the Foreign Ministries in London and Paris. Mr van Kessenich asked whether I could comment on this. In reply to my question he said that one of the two was called Abdul Rahman.
2. I told Mr van Kessenich, for his personal information, that we had received an indirect request to receive two senior Kurdish personalities within the past two months, but that we had not received them officially in the Foreign Office.
3. In case of further queries we should perhaps let Paris, The Hague and Baghdad know of this enquiry.



P R H Wright
Middle East Department

5 July 1974

cc PUSD

THIS IS A COPY
THE ORIGINAL HAS BEEN RETAINED
IN THE DEPARTMENT UNDER SECTION
3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958

From: Russell Johnston, M.P.



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

NB

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No. 10 25 JUL 1974
NBR 1/2.

22nd July 1974

Dear Mr. Callaghan,

I enclose a copy of a memorandum on the situation in Kurdistan in Iraq as conveyed to me by representatives of the Kurdish Democratic Party.

Can I ask whether representations have been made to the Iraqi Government by the British Government about this situation?

Yours Sincerely

Russell Johnston

1. Acknowledgement

2. Secretary of State ^{to see} has not seen

3. ME Department for
Mr. Ennals

The Rt. Hon. James Callaghan, M.P.
Secretary of State for Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs.

BKJ
23h

Reply has issued
B 3 1/2.
p.c.

May 74.

THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT IS ONCE MORE WAGING WAR AGAINST KURDISTAN

A. Background of the Kurdish problem

1. According to the Sevres Treaty of 1920, the Kurdish people were given the right of self-determination on an equal basis with the other peoples of the Ottoman Empire. But international interests did not allow the treaty to be implemented. In 1925, the Wilayet of Mosul, (Kurdistan), was annexed to Iraq under British Mandate. Britain pledged to the League of Nations that she would ensure that the Kurds enjoyed their national rights - this having been made a condition for the annexation. Ever since then, the people of Kurdistan have struggled by all possible means to enjoy their national rights, aiming for autonomy within a democratic government, throughout the present revolution.
2. The present Kurdish revolution started on 11th September, 1961, when the military dictatorship unleashed war upon the Kurdish National Movement led by the Kurdistan Democratic Party and its President, General Mustafa Barzani. Since then, 5 regimes and 9 governments have fallen - none of them having been elected in the first place - on the contrary, they were military, personal or factional dictatorships, and they followed each other in trying to solve the Kurdish question by sheer force. It is obvious that there cannot be any stability in Iraq, unless this problem is solved peacefully and democratically.
3. In 1970 the Baathist regime were weak and knew after a series of lost battles with the Kurdish revolutionaries that they would not remain in power very much longer if they continued the fight. So they started negotiations with the Kurdistan Democratic Party. Having the interests of the people at heart, the K.D.P. entered these negotiations despite its doubts as to the good will, which the Baathists showed at that time. And so the famous agreement of 11th March, 1970, was signed, according to which the Iraqi Government recognized autonomy for Kurdistan, promising to fulfill its implementation within a maximum period of 4 years, and to establish a National Assembly in Baghdad, where Iraqi people - Kurds and Arabs alike - would be represented. The agreement also included the Kurdish people's right to be represented proportionately within the Central Government.
4. Only a few months after the agreement of 11th March, 1970, the Baathist regime started conspiracies and intrigues against the Kurdish Movement. An organized policy of Arabization of the rich oil districts of Kurdistan took place, especially in Kirkuk, Khanikeen and Singar. They tried to split the Kurdish Movement and K.D.P. money was lavishly spent on mercenaries and

anybody, who showed willing to oppose the Kurdish Movement. Members of the K.D.P. were tortured to death in the "Palace of End" and other prisons. Many attempts were made to assassinate K.D.P. leaders, including two assassination attempts upon General Barzani's person. It soon became evident that the Baathist regime were trying to achieve by conspiracies what they had failed to achieve by military means, i.e., the destruction of the Kurdish Movement. Naturally, the Kurdistan Democratic Party and its President, General Barzani, resisted these mean intrigues and the Baghdad regime achieved very little.

5. Having failed in their conspiracies, yet feeling stronger than before, due to having crushed the Arab opposition parties and groups as well as in view of the new, huge oil revenues and large quantities of extra modern arms in stock, they decided to renew the fight against the Kurdish people. But this time under the banner of implementing the law of autonomy in Kurdistan.

6. This law of autonomy, which they devised, is not autonomy, but a kind of decentralization of the administration. Besides, it demands of our people that they give up one third of their land - especially the rich oil areas, Kirkuk, Khanikeen and Zaman, which the Baathist regime insist should not be included in the so-called autonomous area.

Contrary to the agreement of 11th March, 1970, this infamous law does not mention the participation of the people of Kurdistan in the Central Government. Of course the K.D.P. rejected this law and Kurdish Ministers, Governors and many hundreds of officials resigned their posts in protest.

Immediately after declaring this law on 11th March, 1974, the Baghdad regime renewed its war against Kurdistan.

B. Who is with the Baathist Government and who is with the Kurdish Revolution.

1. The Baathists are known for their animosity towards all political parties, groups and personalities in Iraq. As a matter of fact, leaders and members of all parties and groups have either been assassinated, hanged or tortured to death in Baathist prisons. Dissident leaders of the Baath Party itself, including more than half the members of R.C.C., have been killed, imprisoned or banished.

It goes without saying that there are neither democratic nor individual liberties in existence.

All the democratic, nationalist and liberal parties and groups are against the Baathist dictatorship, but the most ruthless methods are used against them. So they are unable to work openly. As a matter of fact, anyone who is not a Baathist, is

anti-Baath, except for the pro-Moscow faction of the Communist Party. Since renewal of the Baath dictatorship's hostilities against Kurdistan, the opposition parties are in high hopes of ridding themselves of this regime in the near future.

2. The Baath regime in Baghdad is very famous for its bad relations with the neighbouring countries - without exception. They are at logger heads with Iran and Syria; they continually interfere in the internal affairs of Kuwait, for which they have far reaching plans. They have declared themselves many a time to be against Saudi Arabia and Jordan. Even Egypt has declared that Iraq is working actively against it. The Baathist regime has carried out gangsterism - not only in its own country - but also in Egypt and Pakistan. However, the Soviet Block supports the Baathist regime very actively, in every field.

3. When the Baath Government renewed the war against our people in Kurdistan, the whole Kurdish people stood firm behind its leadership - the Kurdistan Democratic Party and its President, General Barzani. About 100,000 people left the towns and went to the liberated area, which is administered by the Kurdish Revolution. These included 4,000 teachers, 5,000 policemen and police officers, 10,000 Secondary School and University students and many thousands of soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers. Among the new revolutionaries were about 100 doctors, 300 engineers, many directors and governors, in fact, people from all walks of life came to the liberated land, preferring the hardship and the catastrophies of war to living under Baathist tutelage and torture. Their prime motive was patriotism.

C. The present state of the war

1. The Baathist dictatorship deployed the bulk of the Iraqi army in Kurdistan, including 4 infantry divisions, and 4 armoured divisions. The war planes, which include Mig 17, Mig 19, Mig 21 - Skhoi 7, Bajar and the Topolainv 22, are stationed in the vicinity of the battle fields, at Kirkuk, Mosul and Arbil. The Baathists have also imported internationally prohibited gases and are buying Laser Rays and many other lethal arms to be used against the Kurdish civilian population.

2. Due to heavy rains between 11th March and 15th April, 1974, the fighting took the form of skirmishes, but the blood-thirsty Baathists then started their all out war on the Kurdish people, during mid-April.

3. Headed by the experienced General Barzani the Kurdish partisan army, Pashmerga, took up defensive positions all over Kurdistan, thus forcing the Iraqi army to withdraw from most of

the mountainous towns. Most of the fighting is going on in the hills around the main roads from Kirkuk to Salaimania - from Kirkuk to Rawondarz via Arbil and from Mosul to Zakho, on the Turkish border. Government losses in the ground fighting are heavy. They have been unable to make any headway or successful penetration. On the contrary - their morale is very low and their soldiers feel they are fighting an unjust and lost battle. The Peshmerga are defending their fatherland, homes and families with unsurpassed high spirits and morale. They know very well that it will be the end of the Kurdish National Movement and, indeed the Kurdish people, if they don't succeed. Within one month the Peshmerga have destroyed 50 tanks and 30 armoured cars; they have shot down 4 aeroplanes and 4 armoured helicopters. In occupying army positions, they captured a great deal of arms.

4. In reprisal, the Baathist racial dictatorship is waging a genocide war against the Kurdish people. They are using their modern war 'planes to heavily bombard towns and villages from very high altitudes. They mostly use incendiary (Napalm) bombs against the civilian population.

Here is a list of some of their atrocities committed against the Kurdish population:

- On 24th April, 1974, they bombed the town of Qala Diza, which has a population of 20,000. 131 citizens were killed and over 300 injured. The martyrs were mainly women and children, including students and primary school pupils, since the two schools were deliberately bombed.
- On 28th April, the town Halbja was bombed and over 100 houses were destroyed. 42 people were killed and over 100 injured. The inhabitants had to evacuate the town and took refuge in the mountains.
- Zakho, a town with a population of 25,000 was bombed and shelled between 21st and 30th April, this year. During these ten days the town was burning. On 1st May, the Iraqi army entered the town and indiscriminately shot at everybody within view. 63 persons were killed and over 150 injured - again - mostly women and children.
- On 16th April, A , with a population of 7,000 was shelled heavily. Many houses, churches and mosques were destroyed over the bodies of their inhabitants.
- Between 23rd and 27th of April, 1974, the area of Balak was bombed, including Gallala, with a population of 5,000. 40 people were killed and 51 injured.
- The towns of Diana, Amadia, Bomarne, Mangaish and Heran are among the towns which are under heavy bombardment.
- Dahok - population 40,000 - was shelled on 25th and 26th April. Many people were killed and injured.

- The number of villages bombed already exceeds 150.
- On 14th April, 11 Kurdish patriots were hanged in Arbil, after having been sentenced to death and tortured in Baghdad. Indeed, some of them had had their hands cut off or their eyes gouged out. However, under the gallows they cried: " Long live Kurdistan - long live Barzani" !
- On 30th April, 5 Kurdish university students, who were at the College of Literature in Baghdad, were sentenced to death. One of them is a girl - Layla Kassem.

All these atrocities and many others have been committed by the Baathists within one month. So one can imagine what lies ahead of us. However, one thing is certain and that is that exactly this fight and these atrocities will bring about the end of the Baathist regime in Baghdad. For since 1961, there has not been one regime that fought the Kurdish people for longer than 15 months and this fact the Baathist leading faction knows only too well.

About one and a half million people live in the liberated area of Kurdistan. They exist under the terrible conditions of war - most of them being displaced persons. Not a day passes without bombing, not a day passes without new martyrs. The Iraqi Government have placed Kurdistan under a tight economic blockade. In addition to the thousands of injured people there are thousands more, who are sick and unable to obtain medicine or hospital treatment.

Now the question we would put before every leader - indeed - before every conscientious man or woman in the free world is this:

Should the Kurdish people be left to their fate and to extinction by the Baathist racial dictatorship or should they be helped to survive ?

There are many ways and means by which the people of Kurdistan can be helped and rescued. Foremost and apart from moral support from informed world public opinion is the urgent need for humanitarian and financial aid.

M.M. Abdul Rahman

M. Dizayee

Members of the Political Bureau of the
Kurdistan Democratic Party

and

IMMEDIATE
CYPHER/CAT A

CONFIDENTIAL

(30)

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CONFIDENTIAL
DESKBY 120900Z

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35 25 JUL 1974 NBR 1/2

PC
D

TO IMMEDIATE KUWAIT TELEGRAM NO. 214 OF 11 JULY. 1974

LETTER HINCHCLIFFE/KINCHEN OF 8 JULY AND YOUR TEL NO 423: (NBR 3/359/1),
IRAQ

1. ALTHOUGH THERE HAS BEEN OCCASIONAL HEAVY FIGHTING IN KURDISTAN, INITIALLY TO RELIEVE BELEAGUERED IRAQI GARRISONS AND LATTERLY IN AN ATTEMPT TO KEEP OPEN ROADS BETWEEN MAJOR TOWNS, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE IRAQIS HAVE YET UNDERTAKEN A MAJOR OFFENSIVE. THEY HAVE PREVIOUS BITTER EXPERIENCE OF FIGHTING THE KURDS IN DIFFICULT TERRAIN. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY WHETHER ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER IS WINNING. PROSPECTS FOR AN EARLY SETTLEMENT ARE NOT GOOD. THE KURDS WILL CONTINUE TO BE A THORN IN THE SIDE OF THE BA'ATH WHO DO NOT APPEAR TO BE UNITED ON THE BEST POLICY TO COMBAT THE KURDISH PROBLEM.

2. WE HAVE NO INFORMATION ON SADDAM HUSSAIN'S DISCUSSIONS IN TRIPOLI. BUT IN A PRESS STATEMENT IN ALGIERS HE DESCRIBED THE GULF AS "A VITAL PART OF THE ARAB TERRITORY WHICH IS THE OBJECT OF EXTERNAL DESIGNS RELATED TO THE GENERAL IMPERIALIST PLAN IN THE REGION." THIS SEEMS THE SOLE POINT OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR KUWAIT AND APPEARS TO INDICATE THAT HOSTILITY TO AND SUSPICION OF IRAN REMAIN THE MAJOR ELEMENT IN THE IRAQIS' GULF POLICY. WHILE THE BA'ATH ARE STILL IDEOLOGICALLY OPPOSED TO SHAIKHLY AND OTHER TRADITIONAL REGIMES AND CONTINUE TO SUPPORT SUBVERSION IN THE GULF, THEIR MAJOR PREOCCUPATIONS NOW SEEM TO BE: (I) THEIR INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND (II) THEIR DESIRE TO BREAK OUT OF THEIR POLITICAL ISOLATION FROM THE REST OF THE ARAB WORLD (WE CONSIDER SADAM HUSSAIN'S TRIP TO NORTH AFRICA, WHICH WE UNDERSTAND WAS AT HIS OWN REQUEST, TO BE PART OF THIS POLICY).

3. WE SEE ADVANTAGE IN YOUR TAKING THE ACTION PROPOSED IN YOUR TEL NO 423.

CALLAGHAN

FILES

MED
NENAD

MR CAMPBELL
MR WEIR

CONFIDENTIAL

GR 410

CONFIDENTIAL

PRIORITY

CYPHER CAT A

FM BAGHDAD 240930Z

CONFIDENTIAL



TOP COPY

Spoken to Li short PUSD

who will consult on a
reply.

Rev. 30/7/74

draft submitted
p.a. 28/7

TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO 259 OF 24 JULY. 1974
KURDS IN LONDON.

1. I WAS SUMMONED THIS MORNING (24 JULY) BY THE HEAD OF PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT, MFA, WHO, SPEAKING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS MINISTER, SAID THAT THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT WERE MUCH CONCERNED AT THE ANTI-IRAQI GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES OF KURDISH DISSIDENTS IN LONDON.

2. SPECIFICALLY, MOHAMMED MAHMOUD ABDURRAHAM AND MUHSIN DEZAI, BOTH EX-MINISTERS IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, NOW IN LONDON WHERE THEY DESCRIBED THEMSELVES AS "ENVOYS" OF BARZANI, HAD ON 3 OCCASIONS (23, 24 AND 25 JUNE) BEEN VISITED BY BRITISH SUBJECTS AT THEIR HOTEL IN LONDON (HILTON) TO WHOM THEY HAD HANDED OVER ANTI-GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA AND A PACKAGE BELIEVED TO CONTAIN MONEY. IT WAS KNOWN THAT THE PROPAGANDA HAD BEEN PRINTED IN THEIR ROOM AT THE HILTON.

3. KHADDIM SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT TOOK GRAVE EXCEPTION TO THE FACT THAT THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES APPARENTLY PERMITTED THESE ACTIVITIES TO CONTINUE WITHOUT RESTRAINT. AS HMG WELL KNEW, A STATE OF "MILITARY CONFRONTATION" EXISTED BETWEEN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND BARZANI. THE ACTIVITIES OF HIS "REPRESENTATIVES" ABROAD TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WERE THEREFORE VIEWED VERY SERIOUSLY IN BAGHDAD. IF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WERE SERIOUS IN THEIR WISH TO RESUME NORMAL AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH IRAQ THEY WOULD TAKE URGENT STEPS TO PUT AN END TO THIS SORT OF ACTIVITY.

THE IRAQ GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT PERMIT SIMILAR ACTIVITIES AIMED AT ANOTHER GOVERNMENT TO TAKE PLACE IN BAGHDAD.

HIS GOVERNMENT "DEMANDED" AN EXPLANATION FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND AN ASSURANCE THAT SUCH ACTIVITIES WOULD BE STOPPED AT ONCE.

CONFIDENTIAL

/4.I REPLIED

CONFIDENTIAL

4. I REPLIED THAT IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO CONTROL THE ACTIVITIES OF EVERY VISITOR TO THE UK WHO DISAGREED WITH HIS GOVERNMENT. WE HAD INDEED NO WISH TO DO SO EXCEPT WHERE SUCH ACTIVITIES WERE CONTRARY TO THE LAW. HE REPLIED THAT THIS WAS THE ANSWER HE HAD EXPECTED AND HE REGARDED IT AS UNSATISFACTORY. HE WISHED TO IMPRESS UPON ME THAT HIS GOVERNMENT TOOK A VERY SERIOUS VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THESE ACTIVITIES WERE ALLOWED TO TAKE PLACE AND HOPED FOR THE SAKE OF CONTINUING GOOD RELATIONS THAT I WOULD BE ABLE TO CONVEY TO HIM AN ACCEPTABLE ANSWER.
I UNDERTOOK TO REPORT WHAT HE HAD TO SAY.

GIDDENS

FILES

M E D

P U S D

I R D

NEWS DEPT

PRIVATE SECRETARY

P.S./MR ENNALS

P.S/PUS

SIR G ARTHUR

MR WEIR

MR CAMPBELL

MR THOMSON

Mr Weir ✓

Mr Coles

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35

11 AUG 1974

NBR 1/2

Randy.
E 3 1/2

THE KURDS IN IRAQ

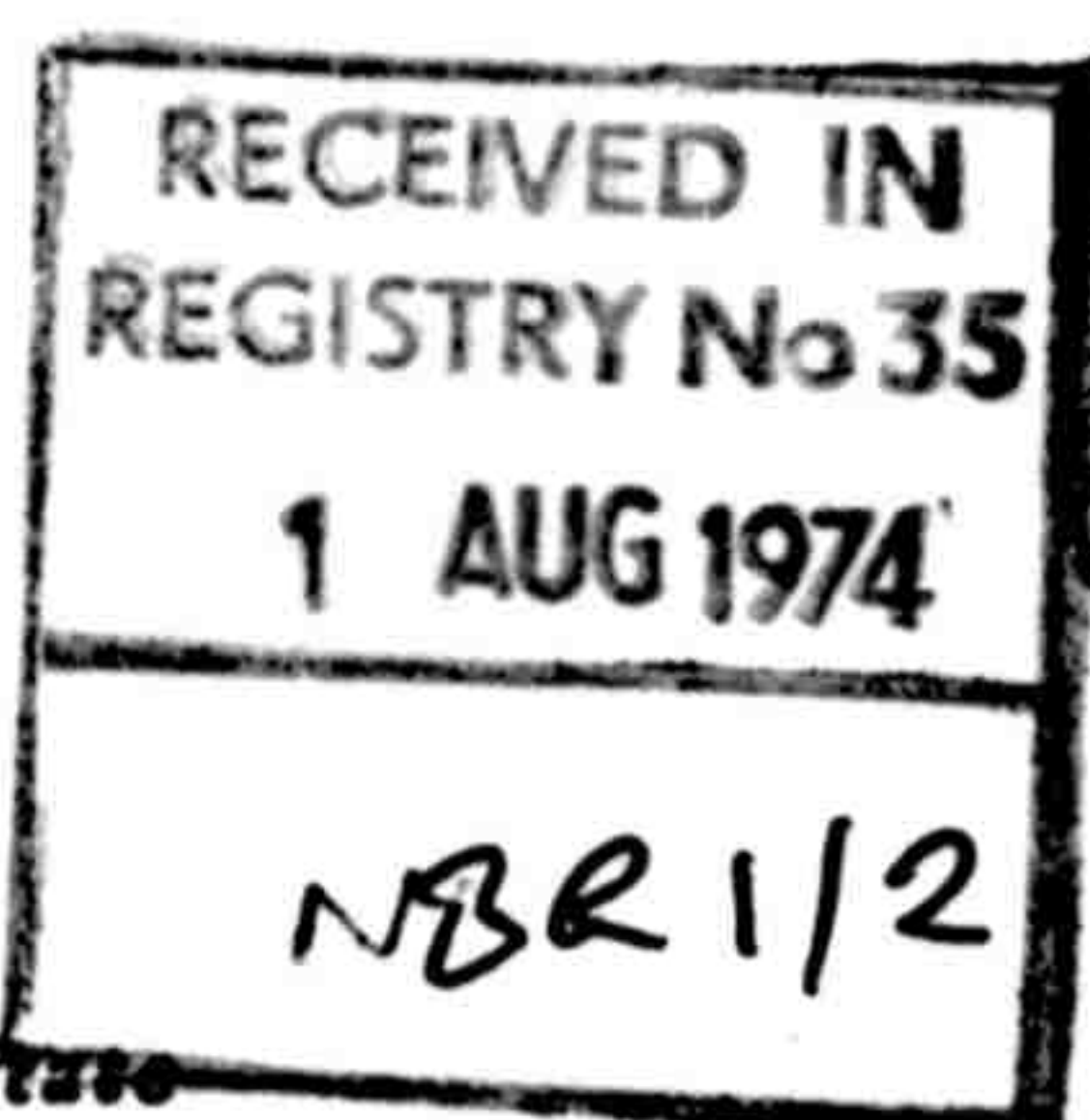
- A
1. Mr Russell Johnston MP (Liberal - Inverness) has written to the Secretary of State to ask whether representations have been made to the Iraqi Government by the British Government about the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan. He encloses with his letter a memorandum on this subject conveyed to him by representatives of the Kurdish Democratic Party.
 2. The Kurdistan problem, which now involves the Iraqi army and the Kurdish "Pesh Merga" in open warfare, is one on which the Government of Iraq is extremely sensitive. Indeed, the Iraqis have just made representations to us about the political activities of Kurds in London (Baghdad tel no 259 of 24 July). Any enquiry or expression of concern in the matter by us would inevitably arouse extreme hostility and could imperil the potentially advantageous commercial relationship which we are beginning to build up with Iraq. The parallel with our recent low-key approach to Syria over the position of the Jews there is all too close.
 3. It is in any case HMG's practice in such situations to make clear that we have no locus standi to make representations to foreign Governments about questions concerning their own citizens. We have moreover consistently taken this line in response to Parliamentary Questions on the Jewish community in Iraq (on which there has been some interest in the past).
 4. I submit a draft reply to Mr Johnstone.


P R H Wright
Middle East Department

26 July 1974

cc NENAD

PUSD



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London S.W.1

29 July, 1974

From The Minister of State

The Rt. Hon. David Ennals, MP.

R. 11/

Mr. Linger *pm.* *RS 31/7*

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary has asked me to reply to your letter of 22 July on the situation in Kurdistan and to let you have back the memorandum on the situation which you kindly sent with it.

No representations have been made by the British Government to the Government of Iraq about this situation. As I am sure you will understand, we have to bear in mind that we have no proper locus standi to intervene on behalf of the Kurdish community in Iraq who are, I understand, Iraqi citizens.

DESPATCHED BY
MINISTER OF STATE

Russell Johnston, Esq., MP.,
House of Commons,
LONDON, SW1.

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
30 JUL 1974
NBR 1/2



RESTRICTED

3/5

J R Young Esq
MED
FCO

Mr. W. J. Quinn
29/7

BRITISH EMBASSY

ADEN

24 July 1974

Enter e.p.a.

@ 26/7

Dear Sir,

1. I spoke recently to the Cuban Ambassador, Jacinto Vazquez de la Garza, just after his return from Iraq, to which he is also accredited. For what it is worth, I report what he told me he thought of the situation there; he prefaced these remarks by saying that he was not making any political judgement on the regime but just reporting the position as he saw it.
2. He said the Iraqi Government were conducting a ruthless war against the Kurds, using such methods as indiscriminate bombing. Despite this, he did not think that the Iraqis could win: there was disagreement in the Government over policy towards the Kurds; the Kurds were a completely separate, very proud, people and would never agree to complete subjugation by the Iraqis; and the Government had now caused such deep resentment among even moderate Kurds that it was unlikely that any lasting compromise could be found. He had very moderate views on Iranian help to the Kurds. He said that Iran no doubt helped them, but this was at a low level of activity - just enough to show sympathy with the Kurds, because of the need to placate its own minority group, but not enough to be of real help. After all, the Iranians no more wanted a powerful independent Kurdish nation on their border than did the Iraqis. As for the Turks, they ignored the problem and hoped it would go away.
3. I am sure that there is nothing new in all this. The interest, if any, might lie in the fact that if the Cuban Ambassador thinks this way he is presumably reporting it to his Government. This, and other remarks he made to me, indicates that perhaps the Cuban and Iraqi regimes are less sympathetic to each other than one might expect from their similar political doctrines, and less than their Soviet mentors might like.

Yours ever,
Alan
A Prosser

cc: Chanceries at:
BAGHDAD
HAVANA

Latin America Department
FCO

RESTRICTED

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
11 AUG 1974
NBR 1/2.



BRITISH EMBASSY

BEIRUT

27 July 1974

1/8

G J B Williams Esq
NENAD

W. 30/7!
McBurtan MEO
Copy to li Rynolds Research Dept
then pa.

Rev Williams,

INTERVIEW WITH OSMAN AL BARZANI

On 23 July Al Nahar said that Sheikh Osman Ahmed Al Barzani, the Kurdish religious leader, had declared his support for the Iraqi government against his cousin, Mustafa Barzani. It also reported that the Kurdish revolt had been largely contained and that the road from the capital to Kurdistan was now open.

2. Sheikh Osman is reported to have told Al Nahar in his hotel in Mosul that the Kurdish people had already been granted the rights, including autonomy, for which they had fought for 14 years. He is said to have claimed that Mustafa Barzani's followers were a small minority.

3. The reporter said he had travelled with an Iraqi military convoy to Mosul. The road was open and their papers were frequently checked by Iraqi soldiers. On reaching Mosul he said he saw about 500 kurds taking up positions at commanding points in the city and later learned that they had accompanied Osman in his journey to Mosul from the areas controlled by Barzani.

4. Mustafa's son, Abdullah al Barzani, was reported in Al Nahar on 23 July to have said that 90 per cent of the Kurdish people would support the government if given the chance and that Osman was their real leader.

Tom W
F Gallagher

F Gallagher

c.c. Baghdad

CYPHER/CAT A

FM FCO 021155Z

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
- 5 AUG 1974

NBR 1/2

TOP COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

TO ROUTINE BAGHDAD TELNO 179 OF 2 AUGUST, 1974.

YOUR TELNO 259 —

(31)

15/8/74
1a

1. AS YOU RIGHTLY MADE CLEAR (PARA 4 OF TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE) THE POSITION IS THAT THE ACTIVITIES OF A VISITOR TO THE UNITED KINGDOM ARE ONLY SUBJECT TO CONTROL IN CASES WHERE THESE ACTIVITIES ARE CONTRARY TO THE LAW. THE POLITICAL VIEWS OF A FOREIGN VISITOR ARE ONLY RELEVANT IF THEY CREATE THE PRESUMPTION THAT THE OPPORTUNITY OF A VISIT TO THE U.K. WOULD BE USED TO ENGAGE IN UNLAWFUL AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL ACTIVITIES. IN REPLY TO A RECENT PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION, IT WAS STATED "WHAT WE CANNOT DO AND DO NOT PROPOSE TO DO IS TO ALTER THE LAW OF THE UNITED KINGDOM TO PREVENT PEOPLE HOLDING VIEWS WE DO NOT AGREE WITH, PROVIDING THAT THEY DO THAT WITHIN THE LAW AS IT STANDS."

2. THE IRAQI M.F.A. ARE UNLIKELY TO REGARD THIS AS A SATISFACTORY ANSWER, BUT WE SEE NO REASON TO BE APOLOGETIC. IN EXPLAINING OUR POSITION AGAIN YOU SHOULD ADD THAT H.M.G. ARE FULLY AWARE OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE STATE OF "MILIATRY CONFRONTATION" EXISTING BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF IRAQ AND THE BARAZANI KURDS AND THAT WHEN WE WERE APPROACHED WITH A REQUEST TO SEE IN THE F.C.O. THE TWO VISITORS REFERRED TO, THIS REQUEST WAS SPECIFICALLY REFUSED BECAUSE OF OUR DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. WHOEVER THE BRITISH SUBJECTS REPORTED TO HAVE CALLED AT THE LONDON HILTON (PARA 2 OF TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE) MAY HAVE BEEN, THEY HAD NO CONNECTION WHATSOEVER WITH H.M.G.

CALLAGHAN

FILES
MED
PUSD
IRD
M&VD
MR WEIR
MR CAMPBELL

RECEIVED IN
REGISTRY No 35
13 AUG 1974



BRITISH EMBASSY

BAGHDAD

6 August 1974

1/2

NBR 1/2

T J Clark Esq
Middle East Department
Foreign and Commonwealth Office
LONDON

See Terry.

*Copy to PUSD
12/80
Mr. Butcher 12/8
Mr. W. G. A. 12/8
Enter 12/8*

ACTIVITIES OF KURDISH DISSIDENTS IN LONDON

179? (36)

pa

1. Thank you for your telegram No 259 of 2 August containing guidance with which to deal with the complaint about the activities of the two Kurdish ex-Ministers.
2. I saw the Director General on 5 August. It was a long interview of which the following are the main points. I made it clear that HMG had no desire to become involved in the dispute between the Central Government and Mr Barzani and his Kurds, which we regarded as an internal matter. For this reason you had refused a request from the ex-Ministers to be received in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. At the same time, the British authorities were not prepared to interfere in the activities of visitors to the UK whose views were opposed to those of their government, provided of course they did not break the law. I pointed out that during the time of the Vietnam War, for example, much propaganda hostile to the US Government was distributed in the UK, a fair amount of it by dissenting Americans. Our attitude to this, however, had been the same - so long as those concerned kept within the bounds of the law, we had not intervened. I also made it clear that the ex-Ministers' visitors at the London Hilton in June had had no connection with HMG.
3. Mr Kadhim said that he would report to his Minister on the following lines if I agreed that it was a fair summary:
 - (i) the British authorities did not know the identity of the ex-Ministers' callers;
 - (ii) provided opponents of a friendly Government kept their activities (albeit hostile to that Government) within the bounds of the law, the British authorities would not intervene; and
 - (iii) if similar circumstances arose in Iraq (ie propaganda hostile to HMG was circulated by British subjects), then HMG would have no grounds for complaint.

/4.



- 2 -

4. I agreed, reminding him that a fair amount of hostile propaganda was put out from time to time in, for example, the United States by British subjects who were opposed to HMG's policies in Northern Ireland. Our policies were no less liable to be criticised by those who disagreed with them than those of any other government.

5. Mr Kadhim took it all in good heart and we agreed to leave it at that. He remains of the view, I am sure, that if we wished to stop the Kurdish ex-Ministers from distributing propaganda we could do so, but that we have no desire to interfere.

per se

R G

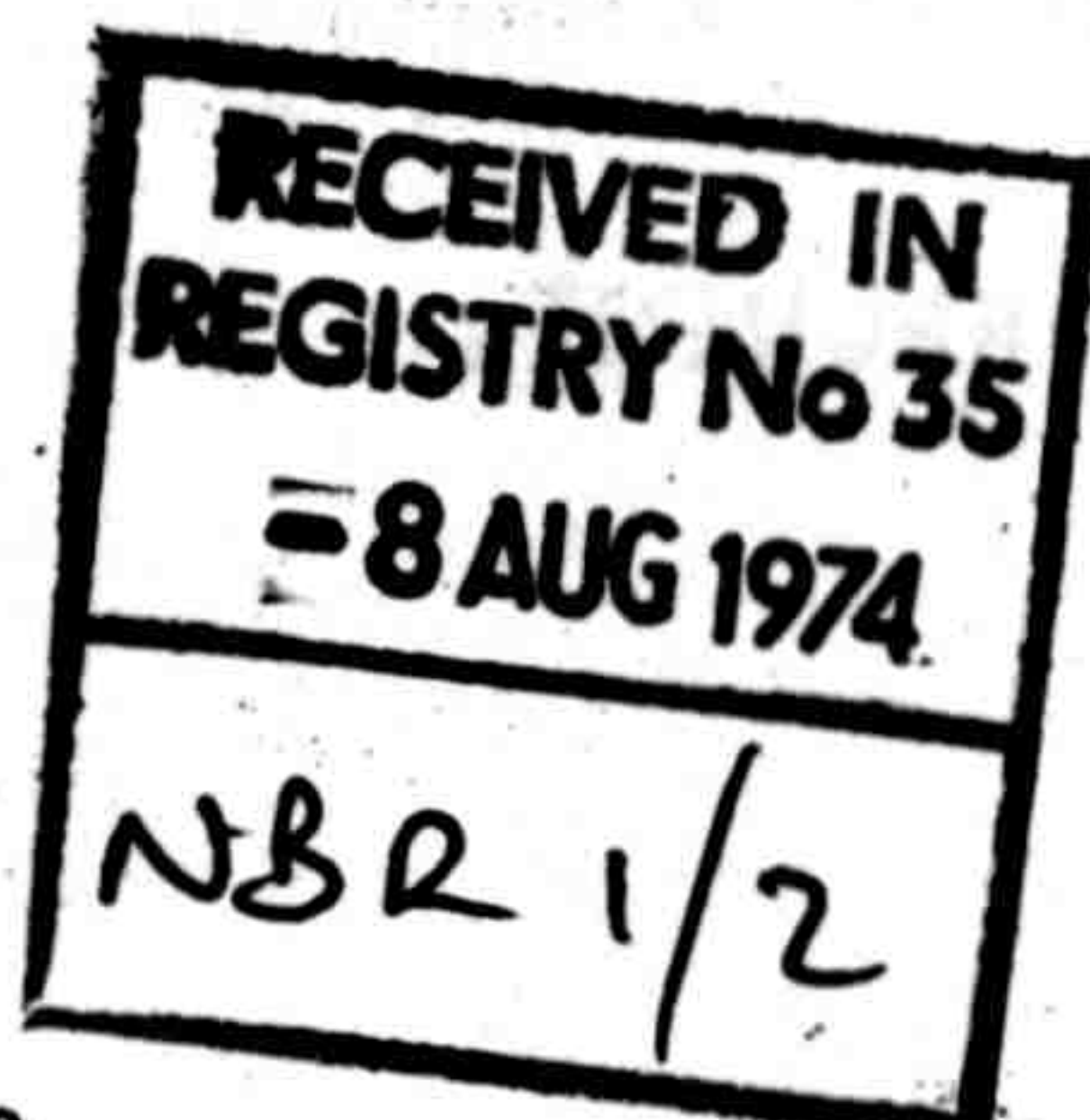
R G Giddens

GR 230
PRIORITY
CYPHER CAT A

CONFIDENTIAL

FM BAGHDAD 070945Z

CONFIDENTIAL



C. B. B. / R. A. B. / B. 7 / 8

Para 4.

TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO 278^A OF 7 AUGUST. 1974

NATIONAL FRONT DELEGATION.

1. IN RESPONSE TO URGENT REQUEST LAST EVENING FROM MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WE HAVE ISSUED UK VISAS TO NATIONAL FRONT DELEGATION, TOURING EUROPE TO EXPLAIN GOVERNMENT POLICY ON KURDISTAN. TOUR INCLUDES LEBANON, EGYPT, AUSTRIA, FRG, FRANCE, FINLAND, SWEDEN AND UK. ARRANGEMENTS ARE BEING MADE BY IRAQI EMBASSIES FOR DELEGATION TO MEET POLITICAL LEADERS OF COUNTRIES TO BE VISITED.

2. DELEGATION (WHICH LEFT THIS MORNING FOR BEIRUT)
COMPRISES:

VAF 7291 NAIM HADDAD	REGIONAL LEADERSHIP
VAF 7292 AZIZ SAYED JASIM	MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
VAF 7293 NAMAN AMIN NAMAN	(SECURITY ?)
VAF 7294 HASHIM HASSAN AKRAWI	MINISTER OF MUNICIPALITIES
VAF 7295 QASIM TAWFIQ AL IZZI	(SECURITY INSPECTOR IRAQI AIRWAYS 1971)

VAF 7296 MMODH ABDUL LATIF TIKRIT

VAF 7297 ABDULLAH MUSTAPHA AL BARZANI (MINISTER OF STATE)

VAF 7298 DR MEHDI AHMED HAFIDY (ECONOMIST VAF 485/74)

PHOTOGRAPHS AND APPLICATION FORMS OBTAINED.

/3. MFA SAID

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

3. MFA SAID FURTHER INFORMATION ON TIMING OF VISIT TO LONDON DURING LATTER PART OF TOUR, WOULD BE AVAILABLE FROM LONDON EMBASSY.

4. MFA ASKED FOR PROTECTION OF DELEGATION AGAINST DISSIDENT KURDS WHILST IN BRITAIN.
WE UNDERTOOK TO REPORT THIS REQUEST.

GIDDENS

FILES

M & V D

M E D

S E E D

P U S D

G I P D

NEWS DEPT

P & C D

MR SCOTT

RESTRICTED



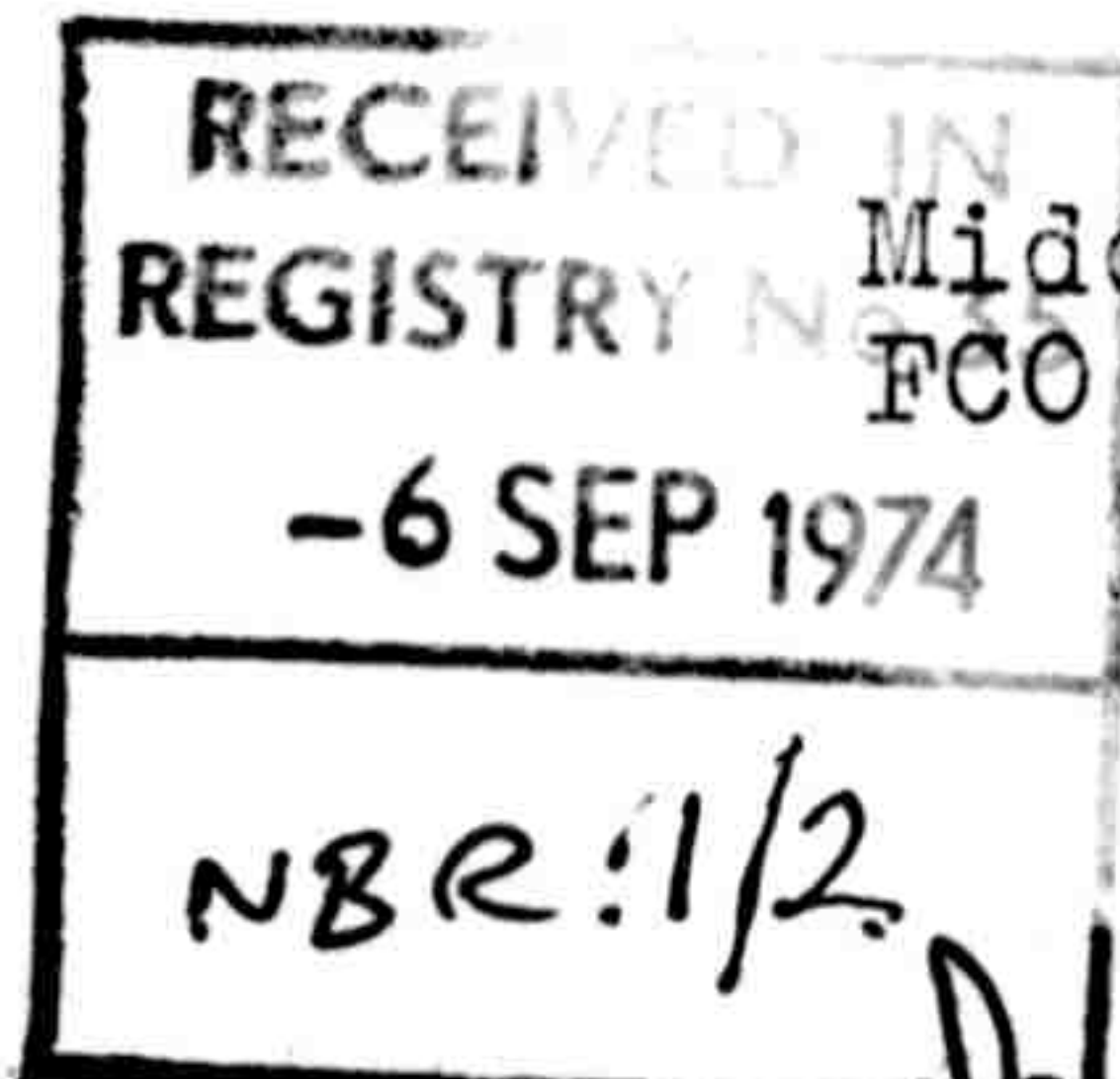
BRITISH EMBASSY
STOCKHOLM

30 August 1974

3/39

38

Randph
5/9



Middle East Department

Del Department,

Wright: compared with
the delegation's activities, or
rather the lack of them, here
the visit to Sweden was
busy if largely ineffective

R. Williams
5/9

VISIT OF IRAQI MINISTERS TO SWEDEN

You may like to know that an Iraqi delegation of three Ministers visited Sweden this week, to convey the official Iraqi view of the Kurdish problem to the Swedish Government. The delegation consisted of the Secretary General of the Progressive National Front, Name Haddad, and the Kurdish Ministers Hashem Aqrawi and Obeidallah Mustafa al Barzani, one of the Kurdish rebel leader's sons.

/on the
Kurdish problem

2. They maintained in their meeting with the Swedish Foreign Minister Sven Andersson that it was not in the interests of the Kurds to fight, and that the Iraqi Government held out to them the possibilities of economic development. According to them Mulla Mustafa Barzani was a traitor who represented only a minority of the Kurdish people, (but they admitted that not much would change before his death).

3. Although the Swedish Government took official notice of the delegation, the Ministry tell me that there is unlikely to be any change in Swedish policy. The Swedes have no intention of bringing up the Kurdish question in the UN or elsewhere, though they would welcome an end to the fighting. The Iraqis have in the past complained about Swedish press comment, and have been told repeatedly that the Swedish Government cannot control such comment, but the Iraqi Embassy tried to counter this by arranging for the visitors to meet representatives of political parties here and to hold a press conference, which was quite widely reported.

4. The party are also visiting other Nordic capitals.

Yours ever,
C R L de Chassiron

C R L de Chassiron
cc Chanceries: Baghdad, Oslo, Copenhagen, Helsinki
RESTRICTED



Foreign and Commonwealth Office
London SW1A 2AL

Telephone 01-

Your reference

R G Giddens Esq
BAGHDAD

Our reference

Date 3 September 1974

RECEIVED IN REGISTRY No 35 - 3 SEP 1974 NBR 1/2
--

In Sweden the team saw the M.F.A.

pa 9/9
P.D.

THE IRAQI FRONT DELEGATION (38)

1. Your telegram no 278 reported that a delegation of the National Front would tour Europe to put the Iraq Government point of view on Kurdistan to political leaders and would be led by Naim Haddad. They duly arrived in the UK in the latter part of August, and stayed we understand for about a week.

2. We had been considering, without enthusiasm, what line we would advise Ministers to take if the delegation, as expected, asked to call to put their case to HMG. In the event there was no such request even though the Iraqi Embassy had ample opportunity to broach the subject of a meeting during contacts on the delegation's movements in the context of protection. As far as we know the only political contacts made by the delegation during their stay here were those with the Communist Party of Great Britain reported in the Daily Worker on 20 August (copy attached).

...

3. The "low profile" adopted by the Iraqi visitors during their stay is perhaps an indication that they regard our position on the Kurdish question as irremediable but given their stated objective and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs approach to you on their visit it was rather surprising to say the least. We would be interested in anything you can gather from your European colleagues, especially the French and German, about the activities of Haddad and his team during their visits to their respective capitals. It also occurs to us that in the event of a further

/Iraqi

CONFIDENTIAL



CONFIDENTIAL

2.

Iraqi complaint on HMG's attitude on the Kurdish question (your telegram no 259) a suitable expression of surprise at the delegation's failure to get in touch in London might well be appropriate.

P K Williams

cc: A F Smith Esq PUSD

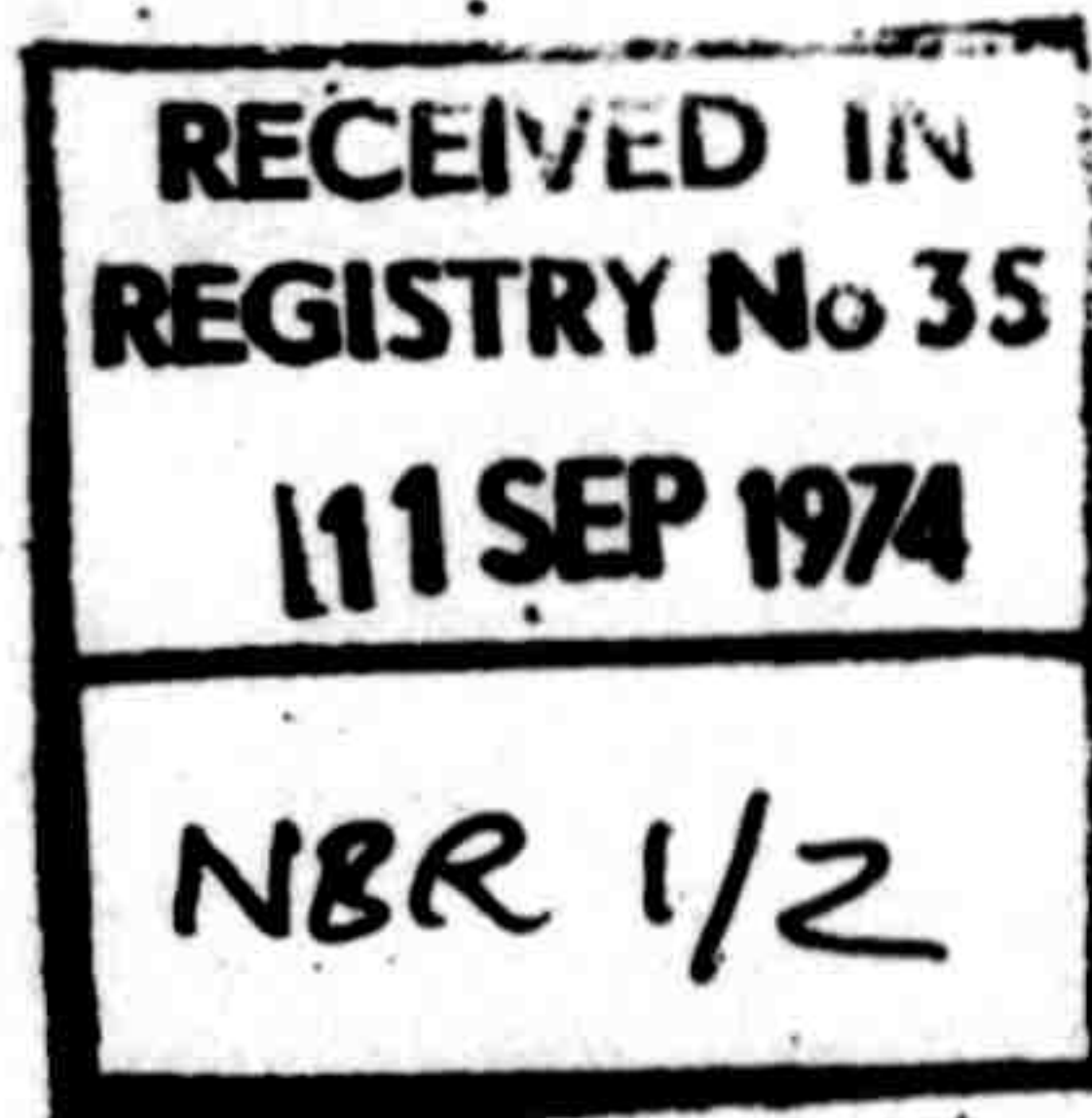
CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

(41)

IMMEDIATE
PHER CAT A

GRPS 250
FM TEHRAN 100600Z SEPT



SECRET

DESKBY 101000Z

TO IMMEDIATE MODUK TEL NO FOH OF 100600Z SEPT/AND TO
IMMEDIATE FCO (FOR MED)

1974

Rand
10/11/9

DESKBY 101000Z

IRAQI KURD SITUATION.

FURTHER MY TEL NO FOH 1050 OF 080850Z SEP.

1. DIRECT
IRANIAN HEAVY ARTILLERY INVOLVEMENT AT END OF AUGUST AND
EARLY SEPTEMBER. THIS CREATES AN ENTIRELY NEW AND POTENTIALLY
DANGEROUS SITUATION AND MAY ACCOUNT FOR THE IRAQI BOMBING OF
6 SEP IN PIRANSHAR AREA REPORTED MY TEL NO FOH 1048 OF 8 SEP.
2. IT IS A MEASURE OF THE SHAH'S CONCERN THAT HE IS NOW
PREPARED BOTH TO USE VERY HEAVY ARTILLERY AND TO DEPLOY SMALL
GROUPS OF IRANIAN TROOPS IN DISGUISE WITHIN IRAQ. HE WILL
NOT GIVE THE KURDS HEAVY WEAPONS WHICH THEY CANNOT PROPERLY
USE BECAUSE THIS WOULD BE TO OFFER THE IRAQIS A PROSPECTIVE
PROPAGANDA VICTORY WITHOUT MATERIALLY HELPING THE KURDS. BUT
APART FROM THIS APPARENTLY PREPARED TO SAIL VERY CLOSE TO THE
WIND IN ANY WAY WHICH WILL ASSIST THEM SHORT OF DEPLOYING
IDENTIFIABLE IIGF UNITS. IF THE IRAQIS REFUSE TO BE DIVERTED
FROM THEIR PRIMARY OBJECTIVE OF DEFEATING THE KURDS, THERE
MUST NOW BE RISK OF BOTH SIDES BEING DRAWN INTO DIRECT CLASHES
OF INCREASING MAGNITUDE.

THIS IS A COPY
THE ORIGINAL HAS BEEN RETAINED
IN THE DEPARTMENT UNDER SECTION
3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958

SECRET

/ 3. I FEEL SURE

S E C R E T

3. I FEEL SURE IRANIAN MILITARY WILL NOT ADMIT TO ANY DIRECT INTERVENTION

THEY CLEARLY FEEL SOME DIRECT ACTION IS NOW NEEDED TO HELP TIDE KURDS OVER UNTIL ONSET OF BAD WEATHER AND TO KEEP OPEN SUPPLY ROUTES.

4. APOLOGIES FOR MY EARLIER ERROR ON MY AMBASSADORS TEL NO 476 WHICH I NOW HAVE.

5. PLEASE INFORM BAGHDAD AS APPROPRIATE.

PARSONS

[SENT TO D.C.C.]

DEPARTMENTAL DISTRIBUTION

MED

UND

FRD

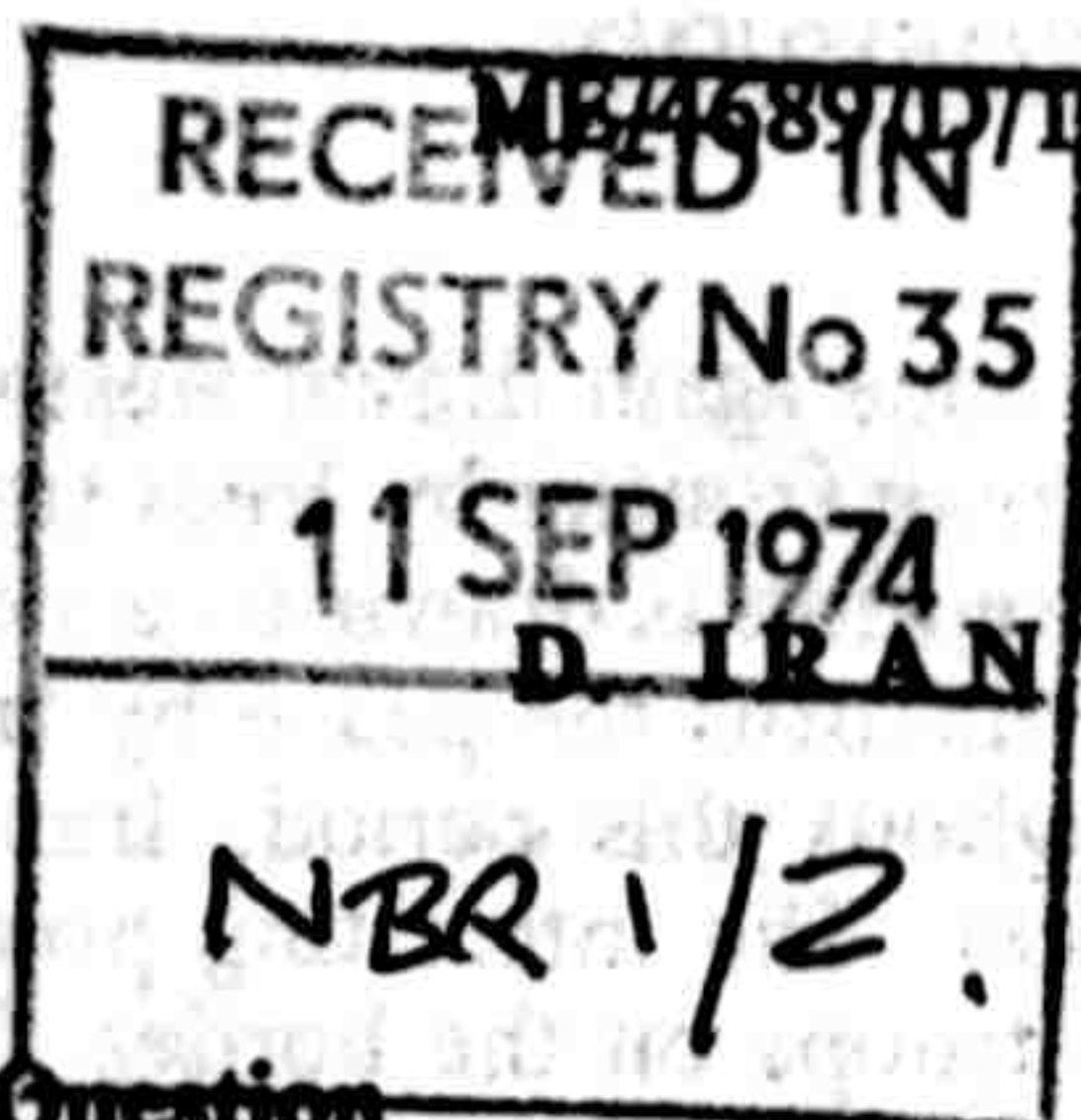
N AM D

IRD

RESEARCH D

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IN THE DEPARTMENT UNDER SECTION
3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958

SWB



29 Aug 74

(42)

Rudger
BK

Iran and the Iraqi Kurdish Question

Tehran home service (i) 1030 and (ii) and (iii) 1630 gmt 27 Aug 74

PKW

Excerpts from reports:

(i) Reviewing the war during the past 24 hours in Iraqi Kurdistan the "Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan" has announced that during this period the Iraqi Ba'thist regime carried out an extensive purge in the armed forces of that country and that to date 150 officers ... had been arrested. The radio said: The Ba'thist rulers of Iraq have continued the arrest of Iraqi religious leaders and three Kurds and one Arab have been executed in Mosul. ... The radio also said that during the past three years more than 16,000 Christians had left Iraq because of the oppression by the Iraqi Ba'thist leaders. At the end of its report the "Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan" read out a letter of thanks sent by a foreign cameraman to the "Voice of Iraqi Kurdistan". This reporter had been injured some days ago when shooting scenes of fighting in Iraqi Kurdistan and he was taken in by the peshmerga and given medical treatment.

(ii) [Recorded statement made by the Director of the Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society, Hoseyn Khatibi, during a press, radio and television interview] ... Due to the onslaught of the Iraqi armed forces on a number of defenceless [Iraqi] Kurdish villages and their savage bombing of these villages during the past few months, a great number of defenceless and innocent inhabitants of these areas have been killed or severely injured. Most of those who lost their homes, property and relatives were forced to abandon their homes and to save their lives sought refuge in our country. ... The Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society took these people ... under its protective umbrella and undertook to provide them with shelter, food and medical care. At present these people are living in many camps set up with great speed by the Red Lion and Sun Society in the provinces of western Azerbaijan, Kermanshahan and Kurdistan. ... As it was considered that they might have to continue their stay here during the cold season, arrangements were made for the speedy construction of houses near the camps so that these children and old people would be able to live in comfort during the winter season.

It has of course been necessary to inform responsible international organizations about these homeless people. Thus, the Iranian Red Lion and Sun Society requested the International Red Cross Committee and the High Commission for Refugees to send their representatives to these camps to acquaint themselves with the situation at first hand. Representatives of these organizations came to our country and inspected the camps. So far nothing has come out of the inspections and no information has been passed on to us indicating the response of these two major international organizations; the Red Lion and Sun Society, however, has done its duty in reporting the matter to the international organizations concerned at the time and it is now awaiting their urgent and positive action. ...

The refugees already total more than 70,000 people. Of these, 46,852 are young children and the remainder old men and women. Of course the number of refugees is [still] rising, rapidly, which clearly indicates that our country will have to bear heavy costs to house and maintain them. As the Red Lion and Sun Society was unable to provide the necessary funds it appealed to the Government. So far a credit of about 6,500,000,000 rials ... has been placed at the disposal of the Red Lion and Sun Society by the Government to house, maintain, and provide medical care and food for these people. ...

(iii) [Press review] One's attention is once again drawn westwards by the reports in the papers of yet another attack on the Iranian frontier by Iraqi troops and their repulsion by brave Iranian border guards. One's attention is drawn to a neighbour called Iraq which causes turmoil from time to time and disturbs the peace by trampling international laws and conventions underfoot. . . Throughout this period, Iran has limited itself to the logical reaction of defending its border. The interesting point worth reading about is Iraq's complaint that Iran is massing troops on the border. On previous occasions too, Iraq has jumped the gun. However, after UN experts inspected [the border region] it became clear that Iran had never been the first to attack.

In its editorial tonight, 'Peygham-e Emruz' refers to the stage-managed propaganda by the Baghdad regime and describes Iraq's complaint as a murderer's cries of accusation to divert attention away from himself. . .

(43)

Mr Williams

RECEIVED IN CONFIDENTIALS
11 SEP 1974
NBR 1/2.

Enter

By Mr P. B. 18/9

P. B. 1/9

KURDISH STUDENTS

1 Sir Arthur Drew called on me this morning to discuss the subject of Kurdish students (see Mr Cairncross's letter of 2 July to Mr Scott). — (26)

2 Sir Arthur explained that his interest in this subject arose from his previous association with General Sir John Hackett of University College, London, who was himself associated with Mr Richard Hauser in various social planning schemes for Northern Ireland. Mr Hauser (who is incidentally a brother-in-law of Yehudi Menuhin) was described by Sir Arthur Drew as "a chronic do-gooder" who has become interested in the question of Kurdish refugees.

3 At Mr Hauser's request, Sir Arthur had agreed to meet two leading Kurds called Juwamer Ali and Abdul Rahman, the first of whom he described as permanently resident in London and the second as a distinguished Kurdish visitor here. They had explained to him that about 1000 Kurdish students have had their studies at Sulaimania University curtailed and wish to complete their studies in the UK. The studies would cover a variety of subjects. All the students concerned are said to be fluent in English. In response to Sir Arthur's question, the Kurds have assured him that although the students would wish to stay here for some years, there was no intention that they should settle in this country. The Kurds had also said that there would be no difficulty about meeting the cost of their travel here and that although they would have no passports, they should be able to obtain a laissez-passer from Iran. When Sir Arthur had asked why they should particularly choose this country for their studies, he had been told that although the Kurds had made contact with the United States, Canada and New Zealand, there was a particular responsibility on HMG in view of an alleged pledge to the Kurds at the time of the British mandate in Iraq.

4 Sir Arthur said that, as I knew, he had been in touch with Mr Cairncross at the Home Office, who had explained to him the regulations for the entry of students into this country. He had also been in touch with the Department of Employment, who had told him that if the students were given entry, there should be no reason why they could not earn a certain amount of money here. He wanted, however, to get in touch with us, since he had no intention of carrying this any further if there were any risk of stirring up a political hornets' nest. I thanked him for this and explained that the hornets so far as we were concerned were the Iraq Government,

Copy Mr C. Rundle
Rep. Dept.

Any comment
on this? ps

P. B. 1/9

CONFIDENTIAL

/who

CONFIDENTIAL

who would be likely to react very strongly to any indication that HMG were going out of their way to facilitate the entry of Kurdish students to this country. For his information only, I outlined some of the difficulties which we have been through over visas for Iraqis and pointed out that our reluctance on occasion to issue visas on Iraqi passports would compound our offence in Iraqi eyes if we were seen to be liberal in granting entry to Kurds.

5 Sir Arthur entirely took the point and asked whether in my view there was likely to be much interest on the part of public opinion in the Kurdish question. I said that there were very few indications so far, but showed him the editorial in last Saturday's "Times". He thought that Mr Hauser might be inclined to write to Ministers on the question, but commented that he would himself advise against this.

6 It was left that Sir Arthur would advise Mr Hauser, and as appropriate the Kurds themselves, to expect no special treatment, but that if they wished to apply for entry clearances under the normal rules, these would no doubt be given proper consideration. He would in any case make it clear that there could be no exceptional facilities granted by HMG. He also fully accepted that the question of entry was entirely a matter for the Home Office.

P R H Wright
10 September 1974

cc Mr Mallett, M & VD

I came across Sir J. Hackett and
Mr Hauser to the Northern Ireland
context - both are exceptionally well

Connected.

PJH/1a

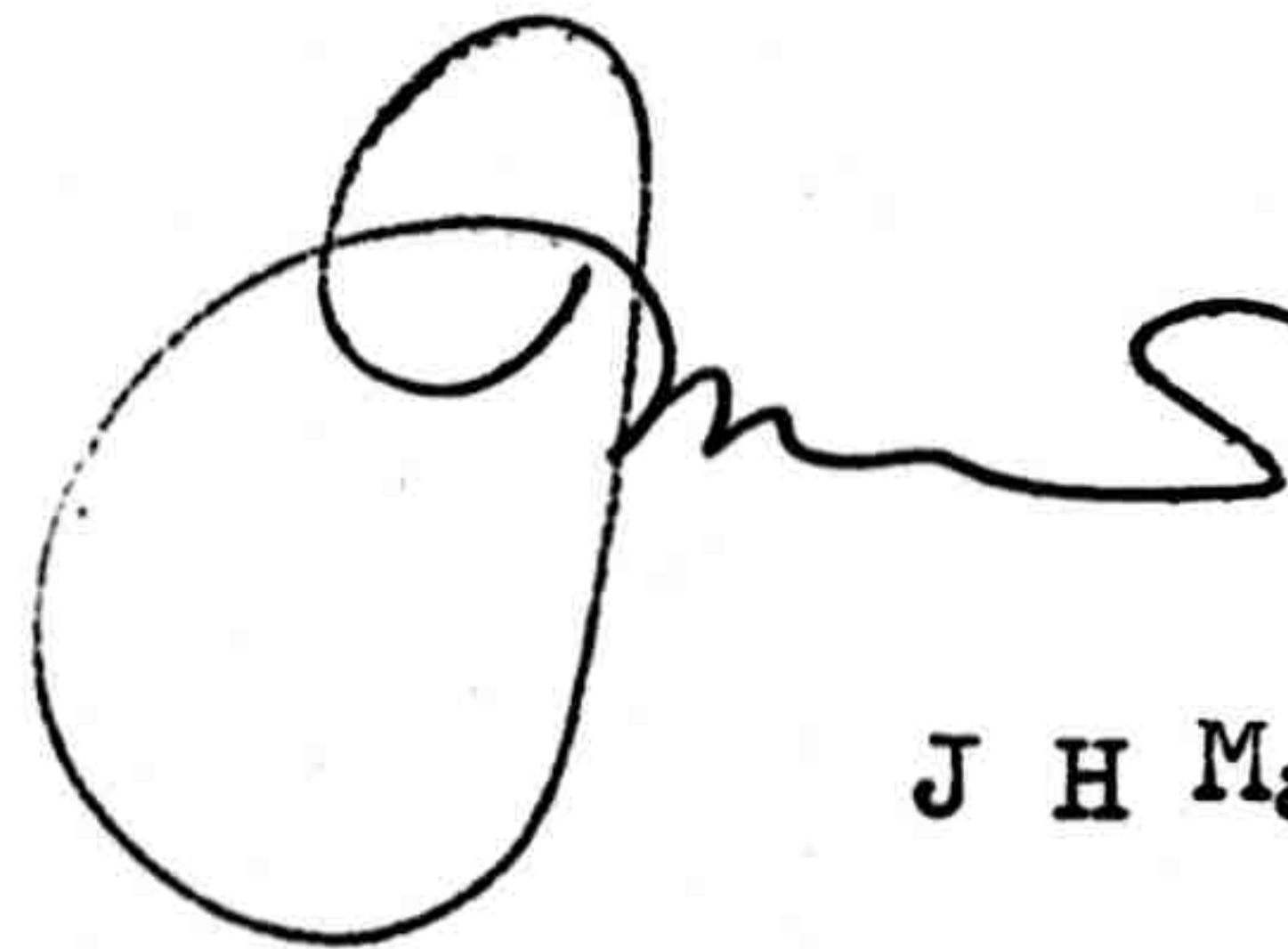
CONFIDENTIAL

Mr Rigney

On other papers the Iraqis have made unsuccessful attempts to get us to ban the entry of Kurdish students suggesting that we should refuse them visas in the same way that we have refused some of their own intelligence officers!

There is no case for refusing these people. There may even be instances where we would be asked to facilitate their entry. In the last week or two the Iraqis have been issuing new passports from their Embassy in Tehran to Iraqi students in Iran. These points are monitored on behalf of other departments but we are continuing to issue visas according to the immigration rules.

I would doubt whether Mr Cairncross's letter needs any reply.

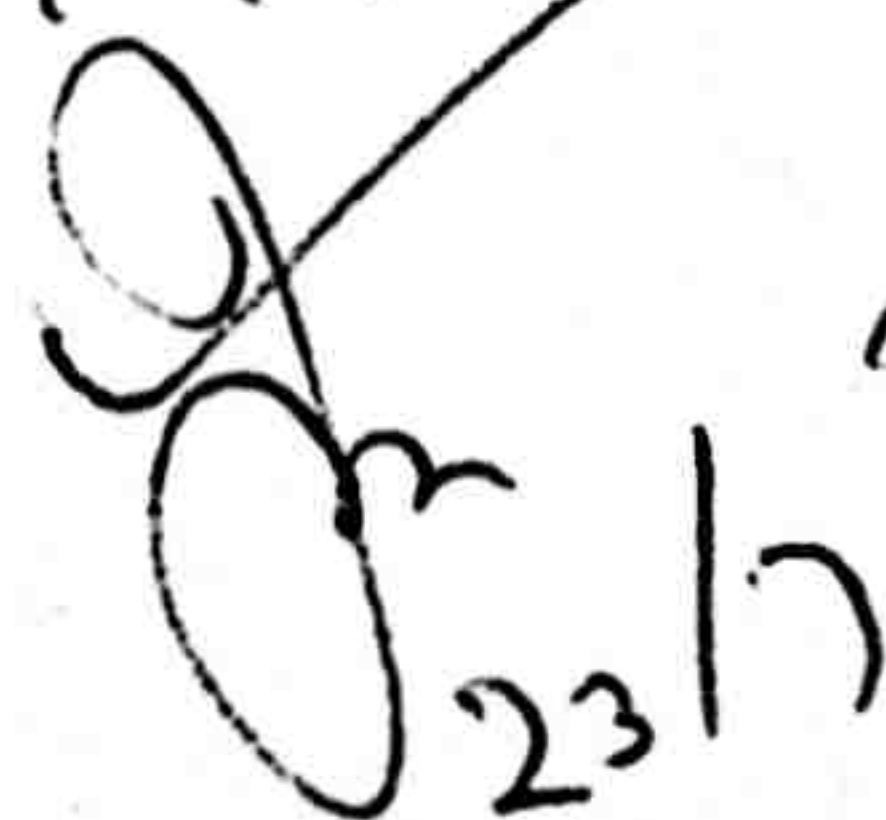


J H Mallett

Migration and Visa
Department

19 July 1974

Mr Mallett

 23/7

Many thanks. I agree.

HR22/7

CONFIDENTIAL

FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH
OFFICE

LONDON SW1

GVV 1/324/1

8 July 1974

Consular Section
TEHRAN

KURDISH STUDENTS

Dear Consular Section

If any requests for entry clearances are received from Kurdish students please treat their requests the same way as visa applications and refer them to this department with a reference to this letter.

Enclosed is a self explanatory letter from the Home Office.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Baghdad.

Yours ever

John 7/7

MIGRATION AND VISA
DEPARTMENT

✓ ENC

CONFIDENTIAL

*Copy down UKD for inf.
Braz SDV*



Mr Mallett
Pl. Spack
HR 4/7
Mr. R. (M.V.D.)

HOME OFFICE

WHITEHALL SW1A 2AP

cc Mr P.R.H. Wright (M.V.D.)

2 July 1974

C.V.V. 1/324/1

4/7/74

Dear Peter,

I mentioned to you that Sir Arthur Drew had asked on behalf of Mr. Gerald Hauser for information regarding the possible admission to this country as students of certain Kurds. When he first put it to me I understood him to say that these Kurds, although resident in Iraq, held Iranian passports (or at any rate papers) as they could not get passports from the Iraqi government).

This is to record that I spoke to Drew last Friday afternoon. I read over to him the Immigration Rules concerning the admission of students and explained that there were other Rules which might affect the admission of a particular person. I went on to say that in the ordinary way our advice in such cases was to advise would be students to apply to the local British Mission for an entry clearance. This was more satisfactory in practice than simply presenting oneself at the port to an immigration officer. In view of the political complications that might affect applications from Kurds, it was more sensible that the matter should be dealt with locally by application for entry certificates. My advice would be that they should apply to the British Embassy "in the country in which they lived". He said that it was likely that they would apply to Teheran. I replied that we could not stop them applying to whatever Embassy they chose, but that I could not involve myself in any dispute that there might be as to their nationality by advising them to go to Teheran unless of course they were resident in Iran. So far as I was concerned, I must say to him "the country in which they lived". He said he understood, and if it turned out that Iraqi Kurds presented themselves in Iran, it would not be because we had advised that. Indeed, he would keep us out of it.

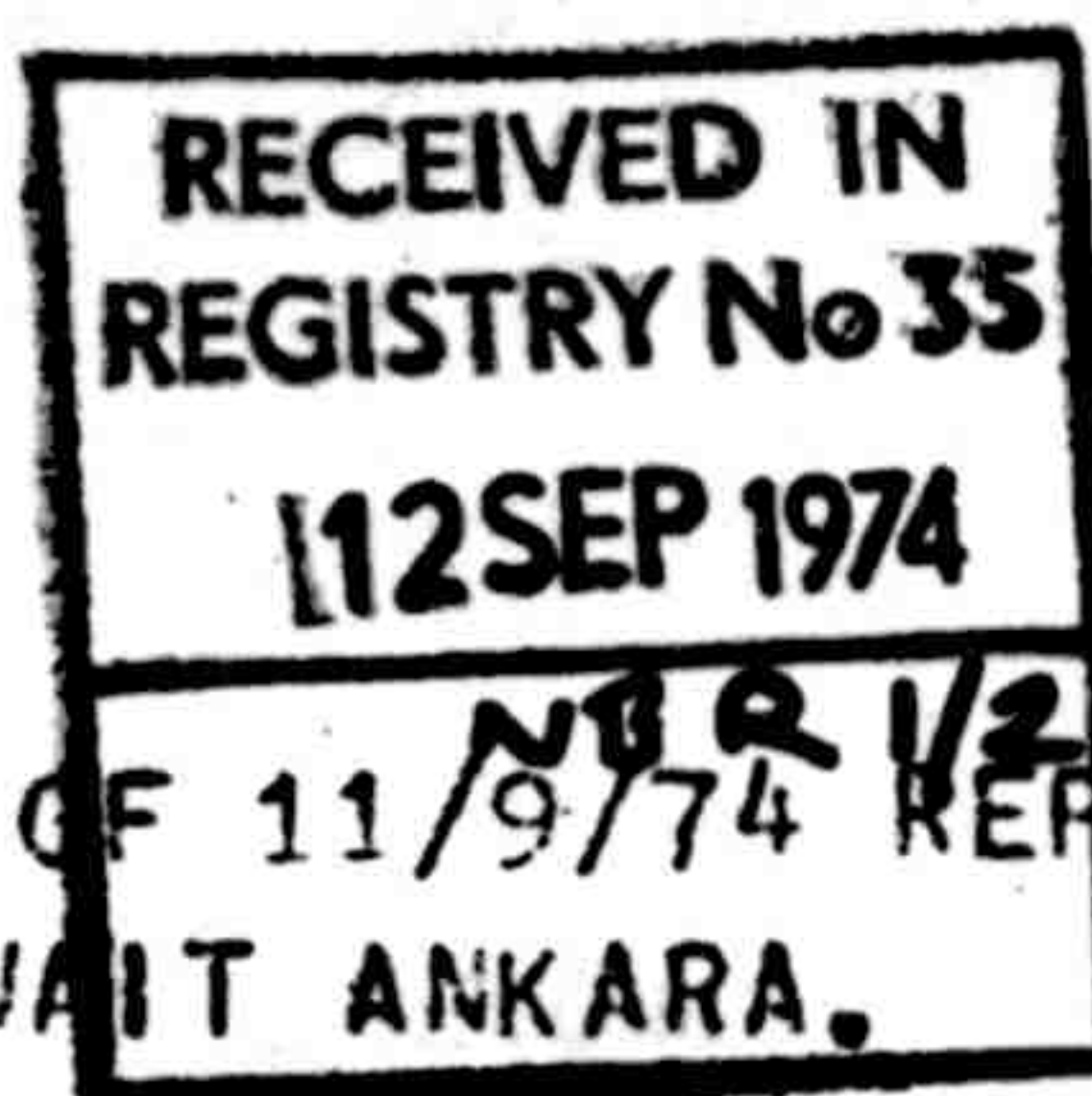
Yours

N. F. CAIRNCROSS

C. P. Scott Esq., CMG, OBE,
Room 116,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
Curtis Green Building,
SW1.

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TO PRIORITY FCO TEL NO 489 OF 11/9/74 REPEATED PRIORITY FOR
INFO BAGHDAD WASHINGTON KUWAIT ANKARA.

MY TELEGRAM NO 476 (NOT TO ALL): KURDISTAN.

1. WHEN I CALLED ON ALAM ON 10 SEPTEMBER, WE DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN KURDISTAN. ALAM SAID THAT IT WAS VERY SERIOUS. THE ONLY HOPE WAS THAT WINTER WOULD COME IN TIME TO SAVE THE KURDS. AT THE MOMENT THE IRAQIS WERE ADVANCING SLOWLY BUT STEADILY ON ALL FRONTS. THE IRAQI ARMY HAD TAKEN HEAVY CASUALTIES BUT WERE SHOWING A LOT OF SPIRIT. THEY WERE EMPLOYING NEW TACTICS, NO DOUBT TAUGHT TO THEM BY THE SOVIETS. THEY WERE LAYING DOWN HEAVY AIR AND ARTILLERY BOMBARDMENTS BEFORE ADVANCING. THEY WERE THEN CONSTRUCTING ROADS IMMEDIATELY BEHIND THEIR FORWARD INFANTRY TO ENABLE THEIR TANKS TO MOVE FORWARD. THESE TACTICS WERE PROVING HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL.
2. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, HE SAID THAT HIS ANXIETY WAS THAT THE IRAQIS WOULD WIN OUTRIGHT AND THEN BE FREE TO TURN THEIR ATTENTION TO THEIR NUMBER TWO TARGET, NAMELY KUWAIT. IRAN WAS DOING ITS BEST TO KEEP THE KURDS AFLOAT. THEY COULD OF COURSE DO "WHAT THE TURKS HAD DONE IN CYPRUS". THE IRANIAN AIR FORCE WAS EFFICIENT AND COULD DESTROY THE IRAQI COLUMNS. BUT THERE WOULD BE NO DISGUISED AN INTERVENTION OF THIS KIND AND IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY RISKY. IT WOULD BRING IRAN CLOSE TO A COLLISION WITH THE SOVIETS. MEANWHILE BARZANI STILL THOUGHT THAT HE COULD JUST HOLD OUT. IF WINTER CAME AND THE KURDS HAD NOT BEEN TOTALLY DEFEATED, THE IRAQIS WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO HOLD THE TOWNS WHICH THEY HAD OCCUPIED UNTIL THE SPRING. THE KURDS WOULD THEN HAVE ANOTHER LEASE OF LIFE.
3. ALAM EMPHASISED THAT HIS REMARKS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF AN IRANIAN AIR STRIKE WERE PURELY PERSONAL AND DID NOT REPRESENT HIS GOVERNMENT'S THINKING. BUT I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT SUCH POSSIBILITIES ARE BEING CANVASSED.
4. ALAM WAS SPEAKING THROUGHOUT VERY MUCH IN PRIVATE CONFIDENCE. I AM THEREFORE MARKING THIS TELEGRAM FOR UK EYES ONLY.

/5. ALAM

SECRET



5. ALAM SENT FOR ME THIS MORNING (SINCE DRAFTING THE ABOVE) TO GIVE ME THE SHAH'S REACTIONS TO SOME OF THE POINTS HE AND I HAD DISCUSSED ON 10 SEPTEMBER. ON KURDISTAN, THE SHAH HAD CONFIRMED ALAM'S ANALYSIS IN PARAGRAPH 1 ABOVE, ADDING ONLY THAT THE KURDS SEEMED TO HAVE LOST THEIR PREVIOUS FIGHTING SPIRIT.

PARSONS

FILES

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PS/MR ENNALS

PS/PUS

MR CAMPBELL

MR WEIR

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TO PRIORITY FCO TELNO 494 OF 12 SEPTEMBER, 1974
AND TO MOD (FOR DI4B).
INFO BAGHDAD, WASHINGTON, KUWAIT, ANKARA.

TOP COPY

KURDISTAN

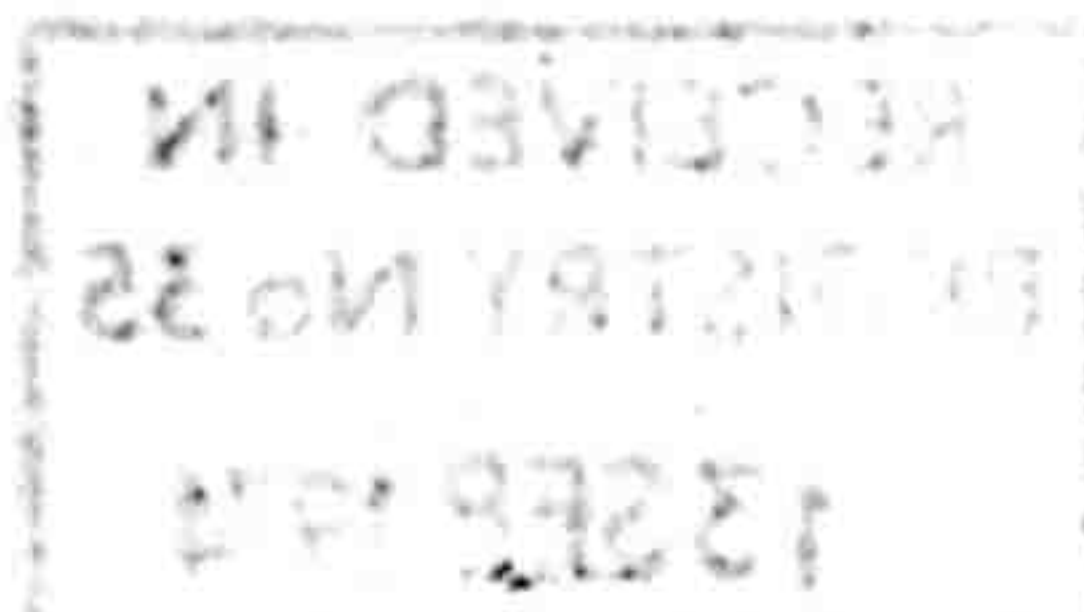
1. ANDREW MURRAY (THREIPLAND) A FREELANCE JOURNALIST WRITING FOR THE SUNDAY TIMES HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH US FOLLOWING A VISIT TO THE BATTLE AREA UNDER KURDISH AUSPICES. HE IS INEXPERIENCED AND POSSIBLY TAKES A ROMANTIC VIEW. ON THE OTHER HAND HE SEEMS INTELLIGENT: WE HAVE QUESTIONED HIM FAIRLY CLOSELY AND HIS JUDGEMENTS SEEM WELL BASED ON DIRECT OBSERVATION.
2. HIS ASSESSMENT OF KURDISH MORALE AND OF THE SERIOUSNESS TO THE KURDS OF RECENT IRAQI TERRITORIAL GAINS, IS A GOOD DEAL LESS APOCALYPTIC THAN THE REPORTS WE HAVE BEEN GETTING FROM THE IRANIANS.
3. THE KURDS DID NOT CONCEAL FROM HIM THAT THE IRAQIS HAD TAKEN A GOOD DEAL OF GROUND BUT THIS WAS ONLY TO BE EXPECTED GIVEN THE WEIGHT OF ARMS DEPLOYED. THEY GAVE NO SIGN OF FEELING THAT THEY WERE ENGAGED IN A DESPERATE LAST MINUTE STAND. THE REFUGEE PROBLEM TOO THEY PRESENTED AS A NECESSARY EVACUATION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN FROM THE THREAT OF BOMBING RATHER THAN A PRELUDE TO TOTAL IRAQI VICTORY, THOUGH THOSE PENNED IN AGAINST THE TURKISH BORDER MIGHT SOON BE IN A BAD WAY.
4. HE HEARD DIRECT EVIDENCE THAT RUSSIAN ADVISERS ARE DEPLOYED WELL FORWARD.
5. HE HAS FILED A STORY FOR THIS WEEK'S PAPER.

Copied to. w/Cmdr Davis.
Cabinet Office.
13/9.

CONFIDENTIAL

/ 6.

CONFIDENTIAL



6. FULLER DETAILS OF WHAT HE HAD TO SAY FOLLOW
BY BAG TO MED, DI4B MOD AND BAGHDAD ONLY.

PARSONS

FILES
MED
DEFENCE DEPT .
PUSD
PS
PS TO MR ENNALS
PS TO PUS
MR CAMPBELL
MR WEIR
DIS MOD

~~PART~~ 'A' CLOSED

NOW SEE

PART 'B'!

Situation In Iraqi Kurdistan; Position Of Kurdish Refugees; Prospects For Kurdish Autonomy. Kurds In Iraq. 8 Jan. 1974. MS Middle East Online: Iraq, 1914-1974: Selected files from series AIR, CAB, CO, FCO, FO, PREM, T, WO, The National Archives, Kew, UK FCO 8/2307. Newspaper Cutting And Map. The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5107498372/GDSC?u=webdemo&sid=bookmark-GDSC&xid=81de2a10&pg=1. Accessed 11 Apr. 2022.